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AN

AUTUMN IN GREECE;

COMPRISING

SKETCHES OF THE CHARACTER, CUSTOMS,

AND SCENERY OF THE COUNTRY;

WITH

A VIEW OF ITS PRESENT CRITICAL STATE.

IN LETTERS, ADDRESSED TO C. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ.

BY H. LYTTON BULWER, Esq.

88469

To which is subjoined,

GREECE TO THE CLOSE OF 1825;

BY A RESIDENT WITH THE GREEKS,

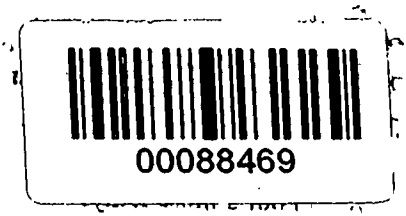
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AN

AUTUMN IN GREECE.

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DEDICATION.

MY DEAR SHERIDAN,

To any one but yourself I should find a difficulty in writing a Dedication of these trifles. To you it is easy to say, what I really feel—that their publication can give me no pleasure equal to that of creating a memorial of your friendship.

I shall ever be,

Your's most truly,

H. LYTTON BULWER.

Albany House,
6th Nov.

PREFACE.

I CAN offer no better excuse for publishing these letters, than their subject. They were, for the most part, written during a short stay in Greece in the Autumn of 1824: though some few are descriptive of less interesting scenes.

However tamely such sentiments may have been expressed, the reader will share my regret at the ruin of a beautiful Country, and my wishes for its prosperity; and in soliciting his favour, I shall only remind him,—"Idem velle et idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est."

INTRODUCTION.

It was in August 1824, that Mr. J. Hamilton Browne* and myself, anxious to see the state of the conflict in Greece, and to contribute, if possible, to its success, quitted this country, with the intention of visiting the Morea.

The Greek Committee did us the ho-

* I feel most happy in this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Browne, as well for the information that I received from him, during my stay in Greece, as for the assistance he has given me in publishing this Memorial of it: I beg to assure him, that I consider every bitter recollection accompanying our late voyage fully compensated by the remembrance of his kindness, and the acquisition of his friendship.

nour of naming us its representatives; and the Contractors of the Loan were desirous that we should see if the nature of the Greek Government warranted its payment.

Unacknowledged as a nation, yet allowed some of a nation's privileges, Greece stood in a singular position at the time of our departure.

To all, and more particularly to ourselves, it was an interesting question,—whether the people of that unfortunate land waged, if I may so express myself, a legal war, or were rather to be considered in rebellion?

Cicero* declares a just enemy to be one that is in possession of a commonwealth, courts of justice, and a public treasure. Puffendorf† remarks, that a people, whose predecessors and country have been oppressed by force, have always

* Cic. Phil. iv. c. 6. † 846.

a right to recover their liberty by the same means that deprived them of it; and if I continued to quote the same author, we should find ourselves lawfully entitled to assist the governed of *any* state, when they themselves may lawfully dispute the insupportable tyranny of their governors.*

I will not dilate on the sufferings of Greece previous to her revolution: under a government in which tyranny is so multiplied in its forms, and so remote in its branches, as to extend through every class of society, from the prince to the peasant: in which the slave is the servant of the slave, and imbecility and violence, by some singular congruity, unite to pillage and destroy.

We have read in the book of Mahomet, that infidels must buy the privilege of existence; but it was difficult, we must

* Ibid.

confess, for extortion to assume so monstrous a shape, as to confound the first principles of our nature, and excite at the same instant our risibility and detestation.*

The Greek had to complain of insult added to injury; and the mind lowered in itself could only regain its level by revenge.

Nor had the rulers of desolated Greece the excuse which tyrants have often claimed—the pretext of having so brutalized a people by a bad Government, as to render them insensible to the advantages of a good one. Changed as the Greek may be from the portrait of his fathers, a family likeness still remains: that image of Liberty which forsook his

* In his predatory rounds the Pacha demanded a remuneration for his teeth; which, naturally enough, were supposed to be fatigued in masticating the fruits of a whole province.

dwelling, was cherished in his heart; and if he bowed in public to the idol that usurped her place, it was like the Dane who knelt to kiss the foot of the French monarch, and seized it, and hurled him from his throne.*

Many would have wished for a more quiet revolution, rather the work of time than circumstance; yet we must acknowledge, in looking at the state of the adjacent provinces in 1821, the rebellion of Ali Pacha, and the murder of the venerable patriarch, that opportunity was in the moment; and the vessel of Freedom being

* "Rollo the Dane, to whom Normandy was ceded by Charles of France, was likewise vested by that monarch with power over territories which did not enter into the previous agreement. It was hinted that he should throw himself at the feet of the sovereign to thank him for his bounty.

"This he refused—but deputed a Dane, who was so enraged at the degradation, that, pretending to kiss the king's foot, he seized it and hurled him from his throne." HUME.

fairly launched, let us hang out the garland from her prow,* and pray that she may steadily walk the waters.

The cause of Greece should be separated from that of all nations, or parts of nations, who have contended for any particular form of government. She does not wish to revive the ceremony of her ancient triumph, and pull down a wall to drive over it with white horses. Her struggle is no speculative one, for some imaginary right of king or people. She fights for positive existence, and from that necessity "quæ etiam timidos fortes facit."

I would willingly take this opportunity of retouching a sketch which was necessarily hurried in my letters to Mr. Sheridan.

I cannot but feel pleasure in repeating that the great mass of Greek population appeared to me far better than I had ex-

* "Puppibus et læti nauti imposuere coronas."
VIRGIL.

pected to find it, or than it is generally considered. Greece is in possession of brave sailors, enterprising merchants, and a hardy peasantry; as a whole she may be rude and barbarous, but her separate parts are excellent.

If I might be allowed so fanciful an allusion, I would compare her to the famous idol in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which, though in the form of a beast, was made of the most precious stones.

The Government at the time of my visit, though not what her friends might most wish, was certainly existing, and acknowledged.

Its defect appears to me, and probably without reason, that it is formed against the nature of things in the country: the deliberative body which, under present circumstances, seems likely to have little weight, is given too much by the Consti-

tution. Even military promotion must undergo the approbation of the Senate.*

I would wish to see Greece free, but free according to her means of being so.

Are the people sufficiently enlightened to have confidence in their representatives?—otherwise, one hundred armed Mainotes have thirty times the strength of three hundred deputies.

Whether Greece can, for many years, have a good government of her own, is a political problem that I will not attempt to solve. She must wade to it through much blood, and it is for her to determine if she prefers tranquillity under foreign protection, to a greater degree of independence at the price which it must cost her.

Any power under which Greece placed

* Art. 47. vide Appendix.

herself, would find great inconveniences in affording her protection.

If it were England, the government which the Greeks, from their disorderly habits, and lively and fickle disposition, might require, would in all probability be of too severe a character to meet the wishes of a free nation. A large force would be necessary to overawe the Capitani; Greece, in her impoverished state, could contribute little to her own expenses, and, if Ireland affords the sole advantage of experience, we would not willingly transplant the system of her calamities into a distant and a still more embarrassed country.

Russia is in too critical a situation to think of entering Greece except in arms; and whatever she might attempt by intrigue, it is still doubtful whether she would openly set the whole of Europe at defiance.

The French, though possessing a large

force in the Mediterranean, have no other object, it is supposed, than the protection of their Catholic brethren; nor would our situation in the Ionian Islands permit their vicinity.

The old aristocratic powers of Europe would never allow the modern flag of America to be hoisted in their face, and wave from the shores of the Peloponnesus. So connecting a link between the independence of the New and the Old World would cause every crowned head to shake; and there is not a tyrant but would see, in the annihilation of Turkish despotism, the approaching insecurity of his own.

Austria might have gained a settlement in this country; but her violence and injustice have been so manifest in the struggle, that I doubt if the Greek would see much difference between *her* protection and Turkish tyranny.

Thus, singularly enough, the best foun-

dation of Grecian Independence is the difficulty which we all find in deciding—who shall deprive her of it?

There are faults which distinguish the present Government of Greece (a want of political morality, and a most wonderful improvidence,) that she will find more dangerous enemies than any she can combat in the field.

The existence of this or that person is fleeting and transitory; it sometimes happens that the commission of a bad action may be useful to him in a conjuncture where his personal interest is at stake:—but nations are durable; they cannot neglect the general and permanent laws of intellectual order without proceeding to their ruin. The injustice which may be advantageous to one man, by way of exception, is always injurious to successions of men, whose lot must necessarily fall under the general rule. Immorality of every kind is borrowing at usurious interest: it saves for

the moment, to ruin in the end. In charging those in power with improvidence, I well know the seriousness of the charge.

I am aware that it supposes the possibility of no vulgar perfidy; for it is difficult to believe that the guardians of a nation would choose so critical a moment for trifling with its purse; we do not look for the profligacy of security in those so removed from its possession.

Let me ask, then, for the real and solid advantages which our money has, no doubt, purchased.

Has a town been taken, a vessel bought, or one regular troop formed?

What!—has nothing been done with those miraculous dollars, which, like the nostrum of the quack doctor, were to have performed every thing? Nothing—if I except the support of a faction, which has lavished the public treasure in procuring itself partisans, and in converting an

enthusiastic peasantry into mercenary soldiers.

Yet, might we not have presumed all this? Did we not know to whom we were lending our money? We were surely aware that it was not to an established, but to an unacknowledged State; to a people who were at war with themselves, and who had no right to expect the same terms which, I trust, they will demand in such a transaction, a hundred or even fifty years hence.

If the Contractors had united more prudence with their generosity, we should not hear so many now regretting those departed thousands, which, perhaps, like the heroes of the Athenian orator, are buried in the fields of Marathon or Thermopylæ.* But the error was one

* The Greeks have not forgotten their old habits, and many a coin with the image of our gracious sovereign on it, will at some future time be found to puzzle the antiquarian.

of good feeling; and we cannot fail of sympathising in the motive, even while we deplore its consequences.

In regard to the payment which we made, our instructions were precise—That if we found a Government at Napoli, as strong as the one existing when the Debt was contracted, and that Government agreed to such terms as the Contractors deemed best for public security, the £50,000 was to be paid. We found such a Government, willing to agree to such conditions, and we obeyed our orders in paying it.

Greece, in the event of success, possessed security for the first loan of £800,000, a sum already too large for her necessities, and which ought to have been placed under special control. If a certain number of British, in conjunction with a similar number of Greek Commissioners, had been appointed to direct

its expenditure towards objects of real and general utility, Greece at this instant might have been free, without an enemy abroad and with a united Government at home.* Time would not have been lost in vain disputes for pre-eminence, and in clamours for the payment of services which were before esteemed purely patriotic.

To those who, like myself, are little acquainted with such matters, a second Loan caused great surprise, when the first was at so considerable a discount.

The Contractors, we suppose, cannot share in the credulity of the public; and in putting their names to the transaction, must have some more honourable motive than the profit of a commission.

That many should be found to speculate

* What yet remains in the hands of the Contractors will not, I trust, leave them without being appropriated to some useful purpose.

in it, is no matter of wonder, when the town is overrun by adventurers, who, seeing much property disappear in like silly attempts at wealth, begin to credit the reverse proposition, and hope in every bubble to discover gold.

In encouragement to that different class of fundholders, which came forward with too much haste, perhaps, to aid the cause of Liberty—we can only say, that the repayment of the Loan, whether it has been appropriated, as is to be feared, by a party to bad purposes, or whether it has been usefully employed in benefiting the State, is equally binding on the people of Greece. The apparent head has always been declared, by the law of nations, to be the head of the commonwealth: which Greece herself may discover in the decision of Demosthenes, relative to the sum which the Thirty Tyrants of Athens borrowed of the

Lacedæmonians. Only one power in ancient or modern times has denied this principle; and we have lived to see the meanest stock-jobber on the Exchange despise the baseness of the House of Bourbon.

Should Greece become the protected province of another empire, and lose the very name of a commonwealth, her debt is still due; "for debts being founded in the commonwealth, not precisely as such a commonwealth, but as possessed of certain goods, whoever is the master of those must take the debts with them."* The only change which can dissolve the obligation of Greece, is her perpetual subjection to her former tyrants.

The present campaign has, no doubt, been unfortunate. The Egyptian is a more powerful adversary than the Turk; and one great feature in Grecian policy

* Puffendorf.

has been, too fond a reliance on the weakness of the enemy.

We no longer find vast bodies of cavalry attempting to penetrate the mountains: troops ill-disciplined and ill-provisioned, entering a wasted and hostile country, with small probability of success, and without the possibility of retreat. The army of Ibrahim Pacha, compared with any that has yet entered the Morea, is terrible beyond description. Formed on European models, it has the advantage of good officers, a commissariat establishment, and soldiers who may be less brave than the Janizary, but who are far more patient and obedient.

The unfortunate contest in the heart of the Morea paralysed the arms of its stoutest defenders. The captive chieftains were released from their confinement in Hydra, when, however, it was too late to unite clemency with good fortune.

Happily for Greece, Captain Hamilton was at Napoli di Romania, when Ibrahim Pacha presented himself before it. That distinguished officer's supposed attachment to the Greeks, and their own demand for British protection,* were probably the causes of Ibrahim's† retreat; of which, it is to be hoped that the besieged have taken advantage, in strengthening their fortifications, and supplying themselves with ordnance and provisions.

The Egyptians, it is said, have lately marched from Navarino, (through Mistra, the ancient Sparta,) to Napoli di Monembasia.

This country was never conquered by the Turks, in the height of their power,

* Ibrahim Pacha, a true Orientalist, could not conceive the possibility of our refusing what he was fighting for.

† It is unfortunate that the possession of Navarino, from its contiguity to Candia, affords Ibrahim Pacha a continued opportunity of inundating the Morea with fresh forces.

and the Mainote would not have submitted now, if he had thought the Government worth fighting for, or his interest likely to have been benefited by resistance.*

The probable consequences of present defeat are, the partial triumph of the invader. For should the open country be occupied for a while, the hardy mountaineer can retire to his inaccessible home; where, probably, he will not long wait for a more favourable opportunity to assert his independence.

The impoverished state of the Mahometan empire, so incompatible with the maintenance of a force sufficient to retain the continent in subjection, and the still larger one necessary to subdue the islands, removes all dread of the Sultan's permanent triumph over Greece.

* The benefit of the Loan has been confined to the navy and the neighbourhood of Napoli di Romania. Those who have not touched the dollars are disgusted at the manner of their expenditure.

The moment is rapidly approaching for the fulfilment of the dreaded prophecy. The white-haired Giaour is at the gates of Constantinople; and the crescent only shines over its walls till it is determined who shall erect the cross.

If Ibrahim is conquering for himself, the event may be more doubtful; but that pacha, who was at first supposed to aim only at Candia and Cyprus, seems acting on a dangerous and mistaken policy, in subjugating the Morea.

Whatever promises the Porte may find it convenient to make, the mute and the bowstring can dissolve them: and the death of Ali Pacha is no contemptible lesson to any adventurous subject, who thinks to create a power independent of it. The descendants of Mahomet are still supreme in the hearts of all true believers, and the Mussulman slave is as much a slave in the hour of conquest, as the cap-

tive who was sold with a garland on his head, was nevertheless a captive.*

It is true that Mahomet Ali is an Albanian, and the Albanians, as well as the Nubians, who are bound to him by ties of gratitude, and who in fact compose the strength of his army, would follow the horse-tail of his step-son to the last; but the subjects of his Arabian conquests, whom he has cruelly oppressed, would as unhesitatingly throw off the yoke:—while the other pachas, however rebellious themselves, would be glad of an occasion to plunder their wealthy neighbours.

Carthage n'est pas detruite! The arms should not be too hastily thrown away that have been dedicated "to good fortune."†—The fear of all Phil-Hellenes must be, that Greece may, by some means,

* Emptio sub coronâ.

† The inscription which Demosthenes wrote, in golden characters, on the shield which he left behind him, at the battle of Chæronea.

be induced to surrender her liberty, and trust the promises, or be tamed by the caresses, of the enemy; whose policy has often been in coincidence with the classic custom of adorning the victim with flowers, whom he is leading to the sacrifice.

If the Greek is sincere to the vow which the blood of his patriarch consecrated—if he is, in reality, resolved to die rather than to submit, and his efforts are still unsuccessful; I cannot believe that all, or any of us, whatever may be our jealousies, will behold the massacre of a whole people, who perish in asserting *those* rights and *that* religion, which we hold in common with them, as men, and Christians.

Vigilando, agendo, benè consulendo prosperè omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiæ nos atque ignaviæ tradiderimus, nequicquam deos imploremus; irati, infestique sunt.

LETTER I.

You wished me, my dear Sheridan, to write to you from time to time some account of my adventures *scribimus indocti doctique*, and the spirit of the age gives me no excuse certainly for disappointing you.

Charles Dupin, whose Work on England you have probably read, accompanied us as far as Paris; where we were detained longer than we could have wished, by our passports; but Paris is the ονφαλον γαιης, the centre of every pleasure and amusement. In spite of its attractions, however, we proceeded as soon as possible to

Geneva. Our route had the usual decorations bestowed on it by travellers: we posted over hills and flats, we saw pretty waiting-maids and ugly ones, ate of good dinners and bad dinners, and complained bitterly of one postilion; so that with any *genius* I could make out a quarto volume of my romantic journey into Switzerland. There was nothing, to say the truth, by which I was interested, till we got to Dijon, in which town Mirabeau first became acquainted with Sophie de Ruffay. It is in such scenes that one regrets not being loved, or rejoices at being so; for as De la Rochefoucauld says, "Il y a des folies qui se prennent comme des maladies contagieuses."

A venerable château at some distance from the town attracted my attention. The postilion told me it belonged to an *epicier de ton;* and I have treasured an expression which might be well applied to

many a modern master of our own old respectable mansions.

Millions, I suppose, have written their raptures on traversing Mount Jura ;—

Novice que je suis, en fait de montagnes,

I must confess myself struck at the grandeur which hung around me : the mighty masses crowned with pine, which rose one above the other, while the tallest, as if seared by age, stood distinguished by its snowy summit.

I can scarcely tell you whether I was pleased or disappointed by Geneva ; it rained during the whole of my stay there, so that I could not gratify my curiosity by visiting Fernay or Chillon.

The dark blue Rhone disdains the alliance of the placid lake, and rolls through the waters which surround it, without intermingling with them.

On entering Lausanne, the scenery about it was most beautiful. The evening had

cleared up, the lake was to the right of us, and the dark red clouds which inclosed the view, seemed the "flammantia mœnia mundi."

After passing St. Maurice, we were in a broad valley through which the Rhone ran on one side of us; on the other descended a cataract, the spray of which reached us in the carriage.

It was night, and I was fast asleep when we began our passage over the Simplon. If I lived a thousand lives, I could never find in them a moment when my sensations would be more sublime than they were on opening my eyes in the morning —a sea of clouds rolled beneath me to my right, shut in by lofty ridges, the sides of which were smoothed by glaciers, while the sun shone partially on them. To my left stood bare and inaccessible rocks, on the crags of which hung clouds, like fragments of Elijah's raiment. From the stu-

pendous height to which I was elevated, other heights arose, whose heads were mysteriously lost in heaven. We passed a monastery:—if the Almighty be a Deity of Terror, man could not have found a more fitting temple for his worship.

The late Emperor of France never stood so high in my opinion, as during the few hours in which I saw the effects of his power in these gigantic solitudes. The mastery of nature in her mightiest moods and proudest aspects, is more supernaturally terrible than the overthrow of mere mortal armies, and hand-built cities. In bursting into light out of the longest of those passages which perforate the solid rock, a cascade tumbled down its waters, immense steeps inclosed us whose tops were invisible, while the road seemed to end at forty yards distance in mist and obscurity.

If any thing can be more astonishing than this magnificent dreariness, it is the

quick transition from it into the sunny vales of Italy. On passing the Swiss frontier the change is magical; the trees are of a different nature, spreading luxuriantly over the mountains; and in a few minutes lay before us the fair land which Hannibal pointed out to his soldiers. It is impossible to wonder at the courage of those who invaded such a territory, or the intrepidity of its defenders.

The soft airs now seemed to waft peace and happiness, the vines gave promise of plenty, and all looked bright in the fairy region which we entered.

Thus we are at length arrived at Domodossola, the frontier town of Italy.

August 18.

LETTER II.

AFTER quitting Domodossola, the country appears a rich and beautiful garden. Towards evening we coasted the Lago Maggiore; and, for the first time in my life, I conceived that solitude might be happiness. The softness and tranquillity of these waters, sheltered by the Alps, and only breathed on by the South winds, and the little white villages on their bank, afford an image of peace and joy, for which one may vainly sigh in the busy bustle of the world. Count Borromeo, the statue of whose pious ancestor overlooks the lake from a neighbouring height, has a palace

built on an island in it, from which the gardens, laid out in platforms, and rising one above the other, have a picturesque appearance.

I shall not forget the evening I spent at Arona; fresh from the rich and vivid associations of the day, I was more deeply sensible of the quiet languor that succeeded it—I felt that it was the first evening in which I had breathed an Italian atmosphere, had gazed on an Italian sky, or seen any of those bright visions realized which had so often coloured my imagination. To each twinkling light on the opposite shore, to each little vessel that stole silently into the harbour, I could not help attaching a romantic story; while the gentle ripple of the waves, the soft splash of the oars, the bright moon, and fragrant breezes, seemed to bear testimony of its truth. The time that I stayed at Milan was too short for me to make observations on its beauty; the

Cathedral, which I saw, though unfinished, is magnificent. The whole of this vast fabric is of white marble. It stands supported by fifty-two columns; and for fretwork, carving, and imagery, surpasses almost every building in the world. St. Carlo Borromeo is buried in a subterranean chapel, lined with silver pannels, on which the principal actions of this excellent old man are represented.

Near the Corso is that dreadful prison in which so many are confined for political offences.

"Ut sit magna, tamen certè lenta ira deorum est."

At a short distance from Milan is Lodi; and the following morning we passed through Castel Guelfo, which took its name, I suppose, from the ancestors of our present king.

At Parma, while breakfast was preparing, I went to look at the toilette of Maria

Luigia: the most interesting part of which is the cradle presented to her by the Parisians for their future emperor. The eagle that overlooked the young Napoleon, no longer fixes its eyes upon the sun. The old man, my conductor, who had never left his birth-place, seemed astonished when I told him that there were finer cities than Parma; so limited is our knowledge, and so much do we resemble Swift's Lilliputians, who thought no people in the world were so big and powerful as themselves!

At a few miles from Parma was born Correggio; indeed, every spot in this land is consecrated by great recollections. I shall run rapidly over the rest of my journey, in which our greatest inconveniences have arisen from the succession of little States, with their kings and their custom-houses, which divide and destroy "la pauvre riche Italie." Bologna is a handsome town, where there is good society in the sea-

son; several of the Buonaparte family reside there; and people of all opinions are suffered to retain them.

A good custom exists in this city, that alternately compels each of the four quarters into which it is divided, to whitewash their houses every year; thus all have a clean and creditable appearance. I should not think the inhabitants of Bologna irreligious: conceive, that there are a hundred-and-sixty churches in it!

I visited a beautiful cemetery in the environs, where there are some pieces of Canova, and in the church attached to it some fine pictures. Among the best is one by a young girl, who was poisoned at the age of twenty, from the jealousy of her rivals. We spent a few minutes (all the time we could spare) in the famous gallery, the walls of which have been re-decorated by the Allies.

A curious accident occurred to us soon

after quitting Bologna. In passing through a village, our postilion smacked his whip, and we were astonished at seeing him start forward with the greatest rapidity, leaving two horses and the carriage behind him: the traces had broken, and the good fellow, satisfied with the pace at which *he* was going, never thought of *us*, till we recalled *him* by our vociferations.

On entering Rimini, we passed the Rubicon, and saw the spot where Cæsar addressed his followers.

Pesaro, and its river, as you will remember, are famous for the defeat of Asdrubal by Claudius Nero.

> Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus,
> Testis Metaurum flumen et Asdrubal
> Devictus." HORACE.

Sinigaglia, the native village of Catalani, is near Ancona, and contains a singing-school, the best scholars from which

are frequently transplanted to Rome. On the 30th we arrived at Ancona; an old, dirty, and most miserable town, with narrow and filthy streets;—there is nothing to recommend it but our vice-consul, Mr. Kane, to whose kindness and attention we owe much. An Arch, built by Trajan, still stands near the port: there is another, I understand, in the town, raised by Augustus, but I take such little interest in the place, that I shall not go out in quest of it. Many Greeks had retired here from the late troubles, but we are happy to learn that the most respectable have returned to their country,—the best proof of its approaching security and independence. We witnessed the entry of the new Bishop, which seemed to throw great gaiety into the heads of these poor people: there were tolerable good fireworks, and, during their exhibition, an Italian asked a Greek who

was standing near us, if there were any such things in his country? "No," said the Greek, "all our firing is in earnest."

The most splendid news has been received here of a battle fought at Marathon, in which the Greeks did not forget the spot on which they stood, and showed themselves worthy of their ancient glory. The Turks were defeated with great loss. We hear also that Ipsara has been retaken, and that the women armed themselves against the ravagers of their country. I long to see the truth of all these reports, and find myself in the wild scenes to which they relate. We have secured a small vessel to transport us thither.

Adieu, dear Sheridan.

Ancona, 31st August.

LETTER III.

We trusted ourselves to " the Afflicted Virgin," *la Madonna Addolorata*, the name of our vessel; and quitted Ancona with fair weather and a mild breeze which was favourable to us.

I awoke in the night, when all was still and calm, and the fine blue of the sky seemed reflected in the waves. The sailor was singing his song at the helm, of which, if I may trust the few words I caught, these stanzas may give you some idea:—

The moon shines bright,
And the bark bounds light,
As the stag bounds over the lea;

We love the strife
Of the sailor's life,
And we love our dark blue sea.

Now high, now low,
To the depths we go,
Now rise on the surge again;
We make a track
O'er the Ocean's back,
And play with his hoary mane.

Fearless we face
The storm in its chace,
When the dark clouds fly before it;
And meet the shock
Of the fierce Siroc,
Though death breathes hotly o'er it.

The landsman may quail
At the shout of the gale,
Peril's the sailor's joy;
Wild as the waves
Which his vessel braves,
Is the lot of the sailor boy.

In spite of these assurances, I did not regret that there was no appearance of

putting them to the proof. The "Afflicted Virgin" was a miserable sort of water conveyance; small and overloaded. There seemed every probability, in a storm, and the rain which generally accompanies one at this season, of being deluged from above and drowned below into the bargain. Nevertheless, on the third day of our voyage, when we had made such little progress, that the coast of Dalmatia was scarce perceptible, a violent Sirocco arose; and what with heat and sickness, I suffered enough, you may believe me. There was, however, no remedy; the captain made for the nearest harbour, and if he failed reaching it, determined on standing out to sea. At about eight in the evening we wound into a small port through two or three little islands—I never saw a spot which seemed so fitted to be a corsair's hold.

The entrance to the gulph is commanded by the little islands that I have

mentioned, which, if fortified, might render it almost impregnable. This idea was not destroyed by a rough stone-built house or fort situated directly on the shore, from which issued two tall fiercely whiskered personages.

Our captain made them understand, that we (Mr. B. and myself) would be very happy to purchase a night's lodging on land. Thus, with my servant Richard, and a sailor who offered to accompany us, after ascending a flight of stairs, crossing a court-yard, mounting another flight, and scrambling up a wooden ladder, we were shown by our conductors into a most unpromising apartment, in which lay a gun, a broken pike, and a vast quantity of something resembling beans, thrown up into its corners. We made ourselves as comfortable as we could; and by dint of a straw mattress and a pair of sheets, I enjoyed the unusual luxury of sleeping

without my clothes. Though a pistol was on my pillow, and Richard lay, I believe, like Aladdin, with a drawn sword between himself and his companions, nothing romantic occurred; and awaking at eight in the morning, much refreshed from my sleep, I sallied forth to reconnoitre the wonders of this new habitation. The men are tall and well-shaped, with their hair combed from their foreheads and hanging loosely behind, or plaited; which, by exposing the countenance, gives it a harsh and fierce expression. The women have the majestic walk and carriage which we sometimes see among our gipsies, but are not pretty.

There are a great many olive-trees on the rocks. On the whole, I am pleased with the residence which Providence has assigned me till the wind changes; and after a sea-bath and an excellent breakfast of bread and fruit, rather the fare of a

hermit than a knight-errant, I sit down, my dear Sheridan, to write you a letter, delighted in dating it—

Selta, a desolate island on the coast of Dalmatia.
September 4th.

LETTER IV.

THE wind changed in our favour, so that we quitted Selta on the evening succeeding that of our arrival. It was a soft and quiet scene when we set sail from that peaceable island. The goats, followed by their drivers, were winding their way down the mountains; the peasants of a cottage or two scattered round the gulph were lying listlessly about the shore, watching our departure; and the setting sun shone along the dark blue waters.

On the following evening we passed by Melida, leaving it to our left.

To render our voyage the more classical, a violent storm assailed us in sight of

those very " infames scopulos" of which Horace entertained so bad an opinion.

As we lay upon the deck during the night, the waves washed over us; and the jargon and noise of the sailors, each of whom wished to act as captain, quite prevented sleep. The morning rose tolerably fair, showing the white cliffs of Leucadia and the leap of Sappho; to whom, perhaps, the most dangerous as well as the most classical *faux pas* of ancient or modern times may be attributed.

The " monstra natantia" were before our eyes in the shape of porpoises; and we saw two or three flying-fish, one of which leapt into the vessel. Another fierce Sirocco drove us into Cephalonia, where there was a great mortality. I felt extremely unwell on landing; but from timely application to the military physician, and the kind treatment and hospitality I received from Captain Ross of the 51st, nothing in

a day or two remained of my illness, but gratitude for the manner of its cure.

The same wind continued so long that we could not get immediately to Zante. I saw three or four Albanians from the window, "with their snowy camese, and their shaggy capote;" but the Greek priests, magnificent in their flowing hair and long beards, captivated me most. Many of the natives lead a wild and lawless life in Cephalonia.* Ross showed me

* Cephalonia, Santa Maura, and Ithaca, are infested by daring robbers, who find no difficulty in crossing the narrow channel which separates those islands from Epirus, and returning to the continent the same night—too frequently after having committed some horrid act of barbarity or revenge.

Shortly before our arrival at Zante, Sir Frederick Stovin apprehended three ruffians who had passed over from the Morea, and attacked the house of a Zantiot nobleman. Not being able to discover some treasure, which they imagined he had concealed, these wretches thrust pins into the flesh below his nails; and put him to every sufferance which they thought likely to extort a confession of where they were deposited.

the knife or sword of a celebrated ruffian, who was traced up to the mountains, and shot the other day, after having been rescued from the guard who was carrying him to execution. His sister cut the cord which tied him to the mule on which he had been mounted. He fled swiftly over the rocks to a cavern, in which by the greatest chance he was discovered. Determined that the foremost at least of his enemies should perish, he made, by means of sticks, which he had covered with turf, and again with gravel, a false path into his recess over a tremendous chasm. The officer who commanded the detachment sent in his pursuit, felt the ground give way, and luckily drew back in time to save himself, when a soldier shot the robber through the heart; the poor wretch leapt into the air, and was seen tumbling down the precipice, from cliff to cliff, into eternity.

I paid a visit to the house which Lord Byron occupied in this island previously to his entering Etolia. There is nothing to distinguish it from a common cottage, except the classic air which we still suppose it breathes.

Just by, is a small but beautiful villa, belonging to a poor little doctor, whom we found almost dying of the fever. In common with all whom we have seen, he appeared enchanted by the manners of his late neighbour; who was, in fact, a far more popular character than would be conjectured from the mere perusal of his writings.

The castle is situated on a high rock, and must be impregnable; but it seems too far from the town and harbour to render much service in case of invasion. Some of the roads are extremely good; and one up the Mauro-vomo has been lately made by Colonel Napier, the present Governor;

on which a temple formerly stood, dedicated to Jupiter Enos.

I paid a visit to the Count Della Decima, a distinguished Cephaloniote, who takes great interest in the present struggle, and is a firm Mavrocordatist. All Greeks indeed, not of the Morea, share the same politics, and give you but sad accounts of the Capitani.

Demetrius Valsamachi, whom you may remember in England, showed us his museum, the counterpart of one formed by the Abbé Fontana, at Florence. The anatomy of the human body in wood, is among the greatest curiosities of this collection.

The chief towns in this island are Argostoli and Lixuri, each containing about five thousand inhabitants. Ruins of Samos still remain; and Livy's account of its siege remarkably corresponds with the present scenery. Dull and desolate as

Cephalonia is, I felt regret in quitting it after the hospitality which I had received there.

Zante, where we were obliged to touch, has a rich and fertile soil, evidently of a volcanic nature. There is found in it a pitch well, mentioned somewhere by Herodotus, the water of which increases its heat towards midnight, and is coolest at mid-day. Earthquakes are very frequent: we ourselves felt rather a severe shock; but the most terrible in remembrance was that in December 1821, when Lord Strangford lay in the harbour. The town has a pretty appearance from the sea, rising like an amphitheatre out of the water. The condition of these Islands is certainly much improved since the superintendence of the British Government.* The revenue is

* Sir Frederick Adam has lately declared Zante and Corfu free ports: a measure which must tend greatly to the advantage of these Islands. Had this

increased, and justice impartially administered among the natives themselves; but where Government is concerned, it would be difficult to say as much.

Sir Thomas Maitland, allowing him some good qualities, was still a most abominable tyrant, and disregarded all laws when they affected himself.

The Ionian Government, if we give it the *name of a Constitution*, is, indeed, *magni nominis umbra*.*

step been taken some few years back, many settlers would have come from the Morea, who have now transferred their wealth to Trieste, Leghorn, and Ancona.

* The Senate consists of five members, who are selected from the Primary Council (a body of eleven) and supposed to be chosen by the Islands, the four largest of which name one each, and the smallest, one alternately. The Primary Council, with the additional number of twenty-nine, form the Legislative Assembly.

If it were not too serious a subject to excite a laugh, the election of this representative assembly would be really ludicrous. In the event of a vacancy therein, the Secretary of the Primary Council trans-

We left Zante in the night, and put off to sea in a violent storm, which soon obliged us to return. I then saw, for the first time, one of those water-spouts, of which people talk so much. It rose from the waves sufficiently high to reach the

mits to the Island for which it occurs, the names of two trust-worthy persons, *(i. e.)* worthy of the trust of the Lord High Commissioner, of whom the synclitæ or electors have their choice, verifying thus the old couplet of

" How vast a difference we may see
'Twixt tweedle*dum* and tweedle*dee* !"

The synclitæ have become ashamed of this *popular* privilege, and never meet. In which case, the *form* of the election is in the Senate. Every act of the Senate, as well as of the Legislative Assembly, must be inspected and approved by the Lord High Commissioner, who in his capacity is doubly culpable:— first, in mocking a people with the form of a constitution; secondly, in reigning, *de facto*, as absolute as the Dey of Algiers.

But what shall we say to such an enormity as this, that, when the Ionians have been flattered with the right of petitioning our Government at home, their petitions have been stopped in their way thither, pronounced libels, and their authors prosecuted and imprisoned?

clouds, and seemed a communication of the conspiracy between them. The same evening we started again for Pyrgo, and arrived there this morning; where we are now waiting for horses to carry us through the country. The Turks, as we hear, made an excursion yesterday from Patrass, and were within two hours march of Gastouni; four peasants only were massacred.* Here is the first news I can give you of this dreadful war; may it not prove an ill-omened prelude! You shall hear of me when I am arrived at Napoli.

P. S. I had forgotten to give you some account of a protegée, adopted a little before his death by Lord Byron, a Turkish girl nine or ten years old, whom he had intended as a companion for his daughter.

There is something singular in this realization of a similar story in Don Juan.

* We had heard something of this affair at Zante, where the four were multiplied into four hundred.

The child was taken to Zante on her patron's death, where her father claimed her; she was allowed to choose her own destiny, and either be sent to England, or return to her native land. She preferred the latter. You see how all depends on circumstances:—this whim of an infant decided her existence, made her a Mahometan and a slave, while a contrary one would have borne her to the most free, and, we are bound to believe, to the most Christian country in the world!

> Thus do we play the fools with time,
> While the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us.

September.

The first payment of 80,000*l.* has been made. I did not mention to you the complaints we have heard against the paper of Mr. Meyer, which appears unnecessarily quarrelsome and abusive.

It is very singular that none will see the value of conciliation, and the impolicy, as well as the impropriety of attacks on the Government of any neutral nation. It is so difficult to possess spirit without impertinence, or to combine liberality with moderation.

LETTER V.

WHAT description do you expect from me of this classic land?—but you have trodden it, and felt, more powerfully than myself, the influence of its associations.

In our first day's journey we passed by the Olympic plains. How striking the contrast between the silence of those fields, now melancholy and deserted, and their jubilee in the old times of Greece! One marvelled, in re-peopling the spot, all lonely but for a few travellers on their sorry mules, with the glad assemblage of aspiring thousands;—in listening for the spirit of eloquence in that solitude, and

looking on a desolate waste as the glittering arena of pride, valour, and wisdom.

What was the cause of so wonderful a change in the scene around me? Time. A few years had rolled away, and all was as I found it. "There is courage in the thought," said I, as I rode on—"a few years more, perhaps, and Elis wears as gay a robe as heretofore." We stopped during the heats of the day at the ruined cottage of the primate: his accounts were not much in unison with our wishes. I asked him if his house owed its wretched condition to the ravages of the Turks? "Turks or Greeks, (sighed the poor man) it is much the same: here comes one of our captains, who, if you do not belong to his party, kills you without ceremony; if attached to him, you must show your friendship, by giving up your property to gorge his followers:—then, to finish all, comes another, who burns your dwelling over your head,

and demolishes every thing, because, forsooth, his enemy plundered you."

But I cannot vouch for the truth of our host's assertions, since he made them an excuse for moistening our parched lips with only a little dirty water, "all the refreshment that his poor habitation contained!" uttered he mournfully: whereas my servant, as I afterwards learnt, found a very comfortable bottle of *liqueur* secreted, with many others, under an old cask. This did not seem much like truth or hospitality: but certainly showed that the good things of the world were, in this part of it, rather scarce, and by no means followed Mr. Bentham's sage rule of being for "the greatest good of the greatest number."

After some difficulty in getting horses, we proceeded, and slept in the house of an old priest, with a beard as long as his goat's, and a hide twice as filthy and un-

savoury. If cleanliness be akin to godliness, they are here like all other relations, and keep as far apart as possible. The reverend proprietor had a great opinion of the Greeks in general, and of his own consequence as a Greek in particular. We could not persuade him that his language was not the fashionable one among ourselves. Some portion of contempt was natural at our comparative ignorance of it:* nevertheless, he showed the unlet-

* I do not give the ignorance of this poor priest as any example of that of the body of the Greek clergy: at the same time, those few among it with whom I became acquainted, were always uninformed, and frequently immoral. The priesthood of an ignorant people, who, from their detestation of the different creed of their enemies, are naturally strong in their own faith, must probably be so. Mr. Douglas, I find, some years since, found the clergy in this country as I thought them: his words are, "the majority of the monks are rude, illiterate peasants, whose greatest learning extends no further than to read the ancient Greek in which their liturgy is composed. The secular clergy, in consequence of their freedom from all rules, and of no qualification being necessary to orders, are still

tered savages, whom Providence had thrown in his way, great civility and kindness :— to whatever was in his hut, except his maid servant, with whom he himself retired (I do not mean to insinuate any thing improper), we were welcome. He was really a good sort of person, and we drank his health in the before-mentioned bottle of *liqueur*, which my domestic now produced. You may be sure that he had a severe lecture on its appropriation; but the evil deed was done, so, like all other politicians, we deemed it best to profit by it.

We had seen, in our route, some specimens of the soldiery; who are in appearance what you may imagine them, a fine, fierce-looking set of fellows, with no other sort of discipline than that which their swords, red with the blood of the Turk,

more contemptibly ignorant than the monks, and they are not more strict in their conduct than enlightened in their understandings."

may teach them. In describing the soldiery, I may be said to describe the people, for almost the whole population is in arms.

There is that in this country, which amply repays one the trouble, if I do not say danger, of visiting it:—all we meet is fresh, and unlike what we ever saw before. The dress, the manners, the very ignorance of the people has something in it wild and original. We are brought back to our boyhood by the very name of Greece; and every spot in this beautiful land reminds us of the days devoted to its classic fables, and the scenes where we were taught them. Methinks I see old Harrow Churchyard, and its venerable yews, under whose shadows I have lain many a summer evening.

The scenery by the banks of the Alpheus, the modern name of which is not as Mr. Douglas says το Βουλη, but ὁ Ροφίας, appears quite worthy of all we have

ever read or imagined of this happy region. The banks of the river are magnificently wooded; and the timber, if felled, might be floated down it, I should think, and form a valuable article of commerce.

Valley succeeded valley, each surpassing the other in freshness and beauty. The land-tortoises were so numerous, that our mules frequently trod on them, at the risk of our necks, as they lay concealed amidst the luxuriant foliage of the schystus and wild laurel. Some singular superstition is attached to this animal, which denounces the severest maledictions on those who eat of it. Of old it was venerated on account of its shell, of which Orpheus formed his lyre. Can the prejudice of the modern Greek be derived from the classic fable of his father?

The fertility of Greece may not have been exaggerated; but all that does grow here is certainly without solicitation. The

richness and luxuriance of the shrubs and trees delight one; yet, except a few wretched vineyards, nothing exists to mark the business of man.

The country intersected by mountains, accounts for its ancient state, and shows its aptitude for small kingdoms. This circumstance, together with the vanity and love of sway natural to the Greeks and their captains, seems to favour Colonel Stanhope's idea of a government similar to the Achæan League, or Swiss Confederation; but the people do not appear to me refined enough for the one system, nor sufficiently simple for the other.

On our second night we stopped at a village called Ἅγιος Ιωάννης, in the mountains. As we approached it, the savage dogs rushed down the hill like a troop of wolves, and, from their loud baying and angry appearance, seemed disposed to consider us rather as Turks than Christians.

Travellers are not perfectly safe from these animals: they surround, and often attack them, as if instigated by the devouring propensity of wild beasts. Any attempt to defend yourself by blows or violence would be revenged by their masters; in fact, I know no means of dispersing the brutes except by throwing stones, not at, but as far from them as possible, which they rush after and shake with the most horrible ferocity.

A wild and warlike group gathered round us on our entry; the men were armed up to the teeth, and it seemed singular to find oneself alone with such savages, and not in danger.

One of the soldiers conducted us to a large barn, where, he said, we might repose for the night. The whole village flocked in to gaze on us, and, in the midst of these wild guests, we sat down and wrote to the Government, acquainting it with our arrival

in the Morea, and hopes of being shortly at Napoli. We intrusted the letter to a peasant, who, although the village was in the interest of the Capitani, carried it safely, and I believe unopened, to its destination.

A kid was now killed at the threshold, and roasted, without much culinary preparation, at the blazing fire kindled in our shed. Imagine Browne and myself stretched along our portmanteaus at one end of the hut, our kid roasting at the other; the flames lighting up, as they ascended from the hearth, the dark countenances, and gleaming on the savage arms, of the crowd around it. Another group sitting cross-legged at some distance from the fire, looked wistfully at us, and carried on a conversation in whispers, filled, no doubt, with conjectures of what the devil we did there. Every now and then a wild laugh would burst forth at the gro-

tesque anxiety of Richard, who was busied over our promised repast, having insisted on being *chef de cuisine* on this occasion. Two or three female faces were indistinctly seen among the crowd, nor were the ladies the most gentle-looking personages in our coterie. As yet I have seen no χρυσοστεφανος Ἡβη, nothing, I must confess, of the Grecian beauty which we amuse ourselves in talking about.

Supper was soon served up, and as speedily cleared away. Sleep seemed almost impossible in so large an assembly: to diminish which was also impossible—nothing could induce our new-made friends to quit us; and thirty or forty men, women, and children, rolled themselves promiscuously up together for the purpose of repose, like dogs in a kennel. There was no ceremony, we felt, and therefore used none, but quickly snored, I dare say, as sonorously as our neighbours. I awoke in the middle of

the night, when I heard strange rustlings and motions among my *contubernales.*

The rest of my slumber was merely a sort of doze, in which I fancied myself wandering through a magnificent palace of Moslem architecture. A vast and powerful torrent was rushing over its walls, and through its courts and chambers; at every instant it threw down and swept away some massy relic of times past, then rushed on, bright in its course, and fertilizing the meadows through which it rolled.

At five in the morning our mules were saddled, and we ourselves on our journey. This day's road lay over many a mountain, and through many a valley, the one looking as sublime as the other beautiful.

We stopped, during the heats of the day, in a rich and shady plain, where we at once gratified our inclination for food and repose. When we awoke, the clouds were

slowly mustering in the heavens, and turbaning the proud brows of the mountains: the deep voice of the thunder was heard, two or three heavy drops fell, and we soon felt that the war of the elements, in this country, is as terrible as that of man. Hurrying our pace, we arrived towards evening at our night's quarters: a village situated on a steep rock, one of the possessions of Colocotroni, who was then residing there. This was our muleteer's dwelling-place, and his countenance brightened, and his tongue seemed, as if loosened, at approaching it. Indeed, we have had many opportunities of remarking that the Greek of modern times has, in this respect at least, retained his national character. The τῆς πατρίδος ἀγάπη is as alive in his breast, as it ever was in that of his vain ancestor.

Whatever account we might have heard from the islanders, or even Moreots in ge-

neral, his peculiar peasantry spoke proudly of their chieftain. The great Colocotroni was on the lips of every one; retired from affairs, and in private if not in public hostility to Government, his retreat could not have been better chosen. If this man's power and talents are not employed in the service of Greece, they will become weapons in the hands of her adversaries.

There is reason to believe that he is at this instant tampering with Russia; a messenger left him, a few days previous to our arrival, for St. Petersburgh.

We found our host, in the morning, under the influence of that fatal fever so common in this country. My medicine-chest was produced, and I proffered him whatever assistance my skill allowed me.

The exhibition of a Seraglio's treasures could not have had such an effect as that caused by the sight of my brown and yellow phials. Every one crowded round

me, and begged that I would physic him likewise; nor could the most enthusiastic lover of good cheer show greater rapture at a lord mayor's feast than my petitioners in gulping down every specimen of the 'Pæonii poçula succi' contained in my little box. After all, they were greatly dissatisfied at my lack of skill in phlebotomy; and felt quite sure that I could have bled them, if I had wished it.

To-day we traversed the barren steeps of Arcadia, which Pan must have had terrible bad taste to inhabit. Two or three flocks of sheep revived its classic recollections.

These flocks are generally tended by the wandering βλάχοι, who, regardless of the present war, bring them from the parched plains of Macedonia and Thessaly to the mountainous districts of the Morea, and as regularly retire on the approach of winter to a more genial climate. They

possess many villages in the mountains, composed of cottages resembling Indian wigwams, which during the colder season they abandon.

The pathway, which was scarcely broad enough for our mules to pass on singly, ran for some distance alongside of a gigantic mountain, while beneath us yawned a precipice too deep for the eye to measure its profundity. We were in sight of Leondari, the residence of Delli Granni, which the Turks, in the plenitude of their power, never ventured to approach.

In these wildernesses the eagle is king, and seems fearless, and conscious of his sovereignty. Winding down the rocks to Tripolizza, we passed a band of thoroughbred Bohemians: these singular people enjoy some influence in the neighbouring provinces.* They seemed quite at home,

* In Moldavia and Wallachia the gipsies have sometimes arrived at honour and wealth; and in

and looked a much more savage and determined race than the one which sleeps under our hedges.

One of our guides, with a grin of savage exultation, took up a skull, and swore that he had butchered eight Moslems at the massacre of October 1821. It cost nothing to the ancient Greeks to be a great people; they were their own historians:* and the modern Greeks will tell as wonderful tales, if they have wit enough to write for posterity.

I had imagined the walls of Tripolizza to be something tremendous—they are not so high as many I have scaled for plums and gooseberries. Only six old guns are mounted on them; and such is their tot-

their extraordinary situation of tutors to the young boyars, they have often much weight in the transactions of those unfortunate princes: they inhabit the northern provinces of Turkey.—Douglas, 1815.

* From Tripolizza the celebrated Mantinea is in view.

tering state, that the discharge of these formidable engines would probably produce the same effect, as the blast from the trumpets caused at Jericho.

The gates are negligently guarded, or rather not guarded at all; the town is large, and of course the best that I have seen, since I have seen no other,—but gives a very poor idea of either Greek or Turkish magnificence. Many of the houses are uninhabited or in ruins; all look more desolate than they would appear, if cleansed of the dirt and rubbish which envelope them.

It was raining when we arrived at the khan, which was full: there appeared no lodging for us, a terrible storm thundered over our heads, and we wandered desolately through the streets in quest of shelter. A Greek who saw our distress, begged us to follow him. He led us to his home, showed us into his best chamber, and of-

fered us the usual compliment of coffee and *liqueurs*.

From rejected outcasts we became, all of a sudden, great personages. The captain who commanded at the place, was informed of our arrival, and expressed a wish to see us. In a few minutes we heard the bustle of footsteps, the court-yard was filled with soldiers, and the chief himself, accompanied by his pipe-bearer and half a dozen of his best-dressed followers, entered our apartment. He was one of the finest fellows I ever saw, uniting really all the manners and grace of courts with the martial appearance of the soldier.

There is certainly a softness of accentuation and address in these eastern people, which we of the north seldom possess. His vest was white and gold, richly worked, and his sabre, ataghan, and pistols, superbly ornamented: the former he had

taken from a pacha, "more antiquo," on the field of battle. He seemed much flattered at our evident admiration of his person and equipments; and could have given us, I am sure, a recommendation to the best tailors at Tripolizza. *Au reste*, our visitor was a Greek dandy, a very favourable specimen of the class too, and not much unlike Mr. Hope's hero Anastatius. We seated him on a cushion on our right, his pipe was brought and lighted, the coffee and *liqueurs* were again handed round by our polite host; and the conversation, beginning on the dress of the Greeks, went on to discussing the nakedness of their land, and ended with many compliments to Mr. Browne and myself, of course, and our generous country, for its exertions and money. Hardly any body, indeed, seems to consider the loan in any other light than as a gift, the contrary of which we take every pains to insinu-

ate.* Browne says, the country is far more tranquil, and the authorities seem better recognized, than at his last visit; so that, if the Government at Napoli is tolerably strong, and willing to agree to our terms, we must give them the £50,000. But our difficulties on this question are greatly lessened, by the first payment having been already made by Messrs Barff and Logotheti; whose conduct, besides, as that of intelligent persons situated near to Greece, goes some way in guiding our own.

This captain gives a good account of the present state of the country, and its dis-

* During my stay in Greece, I had every reason to form the same opinion as an author whom I have read since my return to England.

"The only key to their affections is the Loan; they ask neither for our counsels, nor our hospitals, nor our Lancasterian schools. They profess to need no other aid that the world can afford them, except money. Every species of advantage and improvement is comprehended by them in that dear word, money." Waddington, p. 170.

position towards those in power. We learn from him also that 5000 men were stationed in this city; a central point from which they could be detached to any place threatened by the enemy. After promising us the honour of a visit in the morning, our warlike guest took his leave, and stalked out, accompanied by pipe-bearer and Co., as majestically as he had entered. We were then made welcome to a luxurious dinner, consisting of kid, chickens, rice, &c.; all which good things were seasoned by some very tolerable wine, though too much *à la Grecque* and tasting bitterly of resin.

Our host chatted with us freely, lamenting to tears the condition of his country, and the want of any individual or party sufficiently strong to establish a more positive state of things. I should conclude, from parts of his conversation, that many of the Greeks have an idea of

British protection; and putting the Capitani and the most intriguing and ambitious moiety of the community out of the question, Greece would willingly submit to it, and rejoice at any system which promised her tranquillity and liberation from the Turk:—to any offers from him they would never listen.

We continued talking till a late hour; and the first use I make of being alone is to scribble these lines to you, dated at the capital of the Morea.

Tripolizza. October.

LETTER VI.

At eight o'clock the chief made his appearance, and mounting two steeds splendidly caparisoned, we bade adieu to him and our kind entertainer, and led the way to a band of daring-looking fellows, far too well armed for Greek soldiers. This we experienced on their firing, for mere fun and wantonness, at some idle labourers in the plain, without seeming at all aware of what *might* be the consequence of such amusement. The present Greek is a perfect schoolboy when he bestrides a horse, or gets a gun into his hand. These newly permitted pleasures are fully appreciated

and enjoyed. The poor beast is galloped and flogged over hill and dale by its awkward rider, who looks delighted at such an exhibition of his skill and power. The long musket is loaded and discharged every five minutes; while the powder consumed in this idle folly would be sufficient to blow up all the fortresses from Patrass to Constantinople.

In our ascent and descent of the mountains we were obliged to scramble along on foot. Any one who has seen this country and its tremendous defiles will swear it to be invincible. No invader could profane such a temple to Liberty, while the faintest ray was glimmering from her altars.

One of our turbulent escort had a dispute with the master of the mules employed in carrying our luggage. The soldier's countenance fell, and his hand was on his pistol in a moment: fortunately I

was near; but it was with difficulty we appeased him. Life and death are in the hands of every hot-brained ruffian, who cares as little for preserving his own existence, as for shortening that of other people.

It is evening, and we have arrived at the sea-beach. Good God! what squalid countenances and tottering figures are seen in the crowd around us. It requires no extraordinary imagination to convert the blue waves of the Argolic Gulph into the *inamabilis unda* of old Styx, and fancy oneself among the sorrowful band on their way to the terrible regions of dark Proserpine. The heavens look black and angry, and the winds seem gathering their strength, and shaking their wild wings proudly over the waters. We are obliged to bribe the boatmen to venture out. There is something awful in the stifled voice of the elements; yet we live in the

idea that there is a Deity who can still them — a God to whom Greece and her cause may be dear. To him we pray— Yes,—

—— " Sequimur te, sancte deorum,
Quisquis es, imperioque, iterum paremus ovantes."

October.

LETTER VII.

I SCRIBBLED the last few lines with my pencil, surrounded on all sides by the sick and miserable—in a scene almost as melancholy as the one with which this wretched town presents me.

Browne, myself, and servants, together with the officers of our escort, were stowed, at about eight, into a small fishing-craft; so stowed that absolutely one was stretched across the other—a proximity by no means agreeable, considering the usual occupants of Greek garments.

Down tumbled the rain in torrents; a premature night frowned over us, the

sullen clouds of which were only vivified by the lightning that broke across them in frequent and rapid flashes. The harsh features of the man at the helm took, at each instant, a more hurried and frightful expression, as the storm appeared to increase in violence, and shake more fiercely the shivering sails of our little vessel. When man is called upon to act, there is hardly time for fear; but when he finds himself a passive creature, only capable of endurance, and the loud and supernatural voice of the Deity is raised against him, there is a sensation, be it fear or not, "an undefined and sudden thrill" creeping over the heart, which proves our own insignificance before God's majesty.

Every one spoke instinctively in whispers, and the eye was, not unanxiously, turned towards a light, the φέγγος ἐλευθέριας, if you will, which shone cheerily from the opposite shore. The storm at length

abated, and we entered the harbour wet, harassed, and feeling not at all as we ought to have felt, on entering the most redoubtable fortress of Grecian independence.

It was ten o'clock, the gates had been shut at eight. All our applications for admittance were in vain. No house, even without the walls, would receive us. It is impossible to describe to you the hopeless wretchedness of our condition; tired to death, there was no other manner of resting than in the open streets. The rain fell more violently than ever. Exhausted and overcome, I lay down before a Καφενὴ, within which we heard the tantalizing voice of merriment and comfort. It was useless that we begged to be admitted, declared ourselves to be Englishmen and Phil-hellenes. No other answer was returned than a surly query of what we did there at so late an hour. Luckily our guard did not endure this

treatment so quietly as ourselves, and their kicks had more effect than our expostulations. The door of this ill-named *restaurateur* gave way: we unceremoniously introduced ourselves into his room, and with as little ceremony stretched our weary limbs across its benches.

As soon as the gates opened, we paid our respects to the Grecian minister of finance. We found this officer of state in a little chamber up two-pair of stairs: whatever may be the wealth of the Republic, none of it was visible in its guardian's person or apartment.

We seated ourselves cross-legged on cushions; and after some apologies from our host on his Spartan want of magnificence, the conversation turned to the affairs of Greece, more particularly to the unwise Proclamation* just recalled, and

* The Greeks had published a proclamation, in which they declared their determination to sink,

the unhappy dissensions still existing.—The Proclamation was defended in a manner which may give you some idea of the state of politics in this country.

"True," said this statesman, "the Proclamation would have been hazardous and foolish if we had meant to have acted up to it; but our idea was only to frighten people; it was immediately revoked on our being seriously threatened by your Government. He could not comprehend the insignificance of affirming a thing to-day

burn, and destroy, any vessel that was found carrying Turkish stores, or in any manner assisting the enemy. This proclamation called forth one from Sir Frederick Adam, in which he stated that any such proceeding on the part of the Greeks would call down the severe vengeance of Great Britain.

The principle on which Sir Frederick seems to have acted was an acknowledgment of the right of search belonging to the Greeks, and the liberty of going to further lengths against transports on which Turkish soldiers were found; but he appears to have imagined that *no power* had a right to burn, sink, and destroy a vessel that was merely carrying stores.

and recanting it to-morrow. These people have no grand views, no conception of a straight-forward, honest, and consistent conduct; all is to be done by trick and artifice; they are the very reverse of the old Romans—

"Qui quid magis dignum se foret quàm quod in illis jure fieri posset, quærebant."

We quitted this minister for our lodging, which has been provided by the Government. It is an empty room, without a chair, a table, or a strip of carpet; the windows are broken, and the door off its hinges. This is the sole receptacle for Browne, myself, and our two servants. A troop of soldiers is quartered in the adjoining chamber; and on the landing-place, and even on the staircase, men, women, and children are lying in the last melancholy stage of an epidemic fever. There is nothing without to tempt us; the street, loaded with filth, breathes contagion and

death. The very air is impregnated with the noxious odours of putridity; and we are obliged to turn away our heads, at every instant, from some ghastly victim of disease and famine.

But our situation, though it offers us no other advantage, presents us with that of being in full view of an open space where the regular troops are daily put through their evolutions. This force consists of three hundred men, but only eighty are in sufficient health to keep parade; they are chiefly chosen, as it would seem, most properly, from the young men. Their dress, made *à la Grecque*, is blue and white, and their arms are the musket and bayonet. Attached to the Government as a body-guard, they might, perhaps, be both useful and ornamental; at present, it is certain they are neither. Or, if the Government had raised three or four thousand, instead of as many hundred, enlisting, with the native

Greeks, those foreign soldiers who came over for employment, and are wandering in a state of hopeless despair about the country, the Capitani might have been overawed at a less expense than the purchase of their natural adherents, and a sufficient force raised to meet the Turks in the plain, or to attack Patrass.

October.

LETTER VIII.

ARRIVED at Napoli, you may expect from me an account of what is going on there, and some observations on what I saw in my way thither.

A great deal has been said for and against this people; the accounts appear to me exaggerated on both sides. Those who look back to the classic days of Greece, would be greatly disappointed at its present state. They who regard it through the mist of past ages, the alternate prey of contending nations—who see it trampled on by the adventurer of all, and finally subjected to the worst of despotisms—that which an ignorant conqueror inflicts on the nobler spirit of his captive, would be astonished to

find that any resemblance still exists between the Greek who fought at Marathon and Thermopylæ, and the one who is at present contending on the same field as his ancestors. That part of the nation which was known previous to the present war, was naturally the most debased and servile —the Fanariote prince, who prided himself on licking the dust near the footstool of his master; or the wily merchant, who, exercising trade at extravagant risks, calculated necessarily on extravagant profits.

No observation can be more just than Mr. Burke's, "The opinion of others regulates that which we form of ourselves;"* and those Greeks who held any commerce with their masters, finding themselves despised, became as contemptible as they were thought.

It is from these men, that most, who rail

* "The degree of estimation in which any profession is held, becomes the standard of the estimation in which the professors hold themselves."

without mercy against Greek depravity, have formed their judgment. Speaking of the nation, it is an unfair one.

The Moreot peasantry appeared to me, like the peasantry of other mountainous countries, hardy, honest, and independent. There can be no better proof of their goodness, than the safety with which we passed through some of their most inaccessible fastnesses, where only the winds could bear away the news of our assassination: "Omne ignotum pro magnifico;" and our mules, though loaded with things of little value, appear perhaps to carry vast and precious treasures. They are from habit active, and make excellent guerillas. From the state in which they lived prior to the revolution, retiring with some capitano into their inaccessible mountains, they possess that love for peculiar families which we denominate clan-ship; and some care should be taken that we do not alien-

ate them from their country, when we separate them from their chieftains.

The Hydriotes and Spezziotes also are, from all that I can hear, collectively a good people. The merchants of Hydra were forced into the revolution by the sailors, who looked for plunder and employment, and have frequently been obliged to compensate for ill success out of their own purses. Not having experienced the evils of war, nor even those of slavery, these islanders are more haughty than the Moreot, and have succeeded in obtaining the chief situations in the present Government. The Hydriotes long wished for a settlement on the Continent, and Napoli di Romania may be called theirs.

It is idle to expect that a race long barbarized and enslaved, can start at once into civilization and freedom. Time and circumstance, which hammer out the shape of all kingdoms, must do their work before

our democratic dreams can be realized of this people.

For the present let the Greeks choose their own form of government.*

I do not see who is more likely than they to know, whether a mobbish, military, or monarchical one, will supply their wants or fulfil their wishes :—

" Wise men have aye that government confest
The best to be, which suits the governor best :
Cæsar may laugh when godlike Cato frowns,
And constitutions want the charms of crowns."

Yet it is my opinion that a strong hand is the only one that can rescue Greece from her present difficulties, and finally replace the statue of Liberty in her temple.

If this country is to rule herself, I would give her a powerful government, whether individual or oligarchic. States-

* We have generally busied ourselves about the government of Greece, which really was no business of ours; while the management of our money, in which we might be thought concerned, has been left entirely to the Greeks.

the most jealous of supreme authority have acknowledged its utility in times of danger, and a semibarbarous people was never ruled without it.* Let order be established, and the Turks subdued; knowledge and inquiry succeed of course, and are as necessarily followed by that degree of freedom they inspire, "Tantummodò incepto opus est, cætera res expediet."

It is grievous to look round so fair a land and see it every where the prey to dissension. Political opinion is a harlequin jacket, patched and exhibiting all sorts of different colours. The only universal sentiment seems that of self-conceit and capability. Men, because they are fit for nothing else, conceive that they would make excellent generals and statesmen; or imagine themselves like the block of stone

* It is not amiss to remark, that the Securis of the Consul was never separated from the Fascis till Roman liberty was no more.

from which a statuary can make either a beast or a god.

I wish we could breathe into the present Greek some particle of the spirit of Epaminondas, who saw no disgrace in being scavenger at Thebes, when it was an office bestowed on him by his country. Yet is it to be said that if we destroyed Greek vanity and ambition, we should destroy also the two great barriers against Mahommedan despotism. The same feeling which draws the sword of civil discord, inspires horror and detestation of the Turk.

Paying the soldiers has for the moment withdrawn them, as might have been imagined, from the chieftains, whom also it would be wise to conciliate. As large landed proprietors, and in short as the nobility of the land, one would wish them to have consideration in its rule, though not independent jurisdiction. It seems injustice, as well as impolicy, to institute a

purely Hydriote or Fanariote Government in the Morea. The Capitani are its strength, their courage should not be extinguished, but controuled; nor would they regret being excluded from the civil administration, for which they are unfit, if they were obliged by military commands, for which they alone are fitting.

Besides, their local influence gives them the respect and love of their soldiers, who are thus raised above being mere mercenaries: which they become, led for a paltry sum by people of whose names they are ignorant, and to whose persons they are unallied and unattached. My only fear of pay is, that they who before it fought for life, for liberty, for their wives, for their children, for their homes, and for their altars, who felt that they must fight to preserve all these, may at last consider themselves only obliged to do so for a few paras a day: of which should circumstances (an

event not unlikely) deprive them, they would repine, mutiny, and finally throw down their arms, from disgust at such imaginary ill-treatment.

A hundred ships have for some months been employed, each ship receiving 1000 dollars per month; and no material action has taken place. The sailors will no longer serve without being paid in advance; and examples were not wanting of captains having retired from the fleet at the very moment when their services were most required, to make a better bargain with the Government. Patriotism has ceased to operate, except where it is profitable.

In addition to the evils of a merchant fleet, which is even injurious to the Islands, the Morea has none at all but that which it hires from them, and is consequently dependant on the bad system of its neighbours.

The only manner in which a foreigner can be useful in this country is in uniting the active part of it with the thinking. If he can do this, he does a great deal. At present the general noise, wrangling, and contention, on the approach of the enemy, remind one of this people's superstition, of firing in an earthquake to prevent its progress.

Among the Capitani no one, not even Colocotroni, is so obnoxious to the Government as Ulysses.* This man is not only called a traitor and a villain, but they style the old favourite of Ali Pacha a mere

* Ulysses was feared and detested by the Government; since it had twice sought his life, and twice failed in the attempt. He seized the Capitani Palaskas and Alexis Noutza, who were sent to deprive him of his command, and put them to death. This man had many qualities which fitted him for a distinguished part in Greece. He was always ready to listen to advice, and anxious to have those foreigners about him who were capable of giving it. He was bold and intrepid, caring little about the means perhaps, but generally answering at the

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coward. Goorrha* and Niketas† are the two favourites; both mere machines, but, luckily, as brave as they are stupid. Mavrocordato must be a superior man: he accomplished that, in which Hypsilanti failed, and kept himself at the head of affairs without money. As a Fanariote, he has no interest in the Islands, or in the Morea, except that created by his talents, and the sort of balanced situation in which he hangs, like Mahomet's tomb.

The Capitani hate him, because he is not one of them; the merchants esteem him, because he is not one of the Capitani.

end. It is singular that, during his command, he prevented the theft of many antiquities at Athens. His death was as romantic as his life: report says that he fell from the Acropolis, where he was lately confined by the Government, in attempting his escape.

* Goorrha, a bravo of Ali Pacha, who was attached to Ulysses, and is now employed against him.

† Niketas, a native of Argos, and a nephew of Colocotroni, who has made no wealth, is sincere in his professions, and beloved by his soldiers.

The theorists, all for a republic, are not satisfied with one whom they represent as ambitious and intriguing for a foreign king. But the more sagacious, perhaps, regard this prince as a person who, from his want of military skill and capacity in other matters, is the most likely to wish for peace and establish order—a blessing which they wisely think ought to be purchased at any price except that of slavery, or extreme national debasement.

His interest was greatest in Etolia, where it is now beginning to fail, from his lavish promises to the chieftains and his want of means to fulfil them. He has also been imprudent enough to borrow money from these desperate usurers, who, like Shylock, would oftentimes be paid in blood.*

Many of the Fanariote princes, like Mavrocordato and Hypsilanti, came over to Greece in hopes of obtaining property, the

* These errors have since forced him to retire from Missolonghi.

first possession of which was necessary to their power and consequence. In fact, they are regarded as foreigners, and nothing but great talents or wealth can bring them into even competition with the natives.

Among our countrymen, Lord Charles Murray is dead; Mr. Winter destroyed himself a few days previous to my arrival. Mr. Trelawney is guarding the treasures of Ulysses, deposited, as they say, in a cave on Mount Parnassus. He has adopted the Greek dress and customs, and there is a report of his marrying a daughter of his chief. Mr. Blaquiere, though even these people smile at his enthusiastic accounts of their country, is by far the most popular foreigner who has visited it: I will not except Lord Byron, who is spoken of in terms of respect and admiration; but there is a warm sentiment of real affection mingled with this people's gratitude to Mr. Blaquiere.

Of our naval officers, Captain Hamilton is the most known, and enjoys the singular good fortune of being as well spoken of by the Turks as he is by the Greeks.

I have mentioned the great fertility of parts of this country, and its general want of cultivation.*

The currant was formerly one of its most valuable productions, and has suffered more than any in the Revolution. This plant† requires much time for ma-

* Independent of the war, there are causes to account for this neglect, which peace will not remove. Among them is the high price of labour, arising from the number of festivals enjoined by the Greek church; which make it necessary for the peasant to earn in four days sufficient to support him for the seven.

The mountainous districts, where the soil admits of it, are in cultivation. The plains are too exposed to the rapacious soldiery to encourage the labour of the husbandman.

† The currant plant grows in great quantity on those rich plains bordering on the Gulph of Lepanto.

turity. War has rendered useless the industry of many years, and the fruit it now bears is trifling.

The olive thrives in almost all parts of Greece; but the oil, from the slovenly manner of its extraction, is very indifferent. Valonia cotton, madder roots, and tobacco, are among its other exports.

But the produce of Greece at this instant is less than it has been at any former period, even during the tyranny of the Turks.

Cattle and sheep form the principal riches of Etolia; and there are noble forests in that country, which, under an enlightened Government would be made no inconsiderable source of wealth.

The Morea, as it is easy to guess, from the derivation of its name, is peculiarly adapted to the growth of the mulberry-tree; and silk might be produced there in large quantities and with little trouble.

After all, natural production is only the spring, and commerce the aqueduct which leads it into the meadows.

At this moment Greece carries on no commerce.* The Genoese, the Austrians, and the Italians of the Adriatic, engross the whole trade; and some of them since the Revolution have contrived to make enormous profits.† This traffic, however it may have enriched individuals, has not been considered by the British of sufficient general consequence to occupy their attention. It is, in fact, a mere system of *cabotage*. A vessel proceeds from one creek to another along the coast of Greece, gradually picking up a cargo of Valonia

* Our conduct relative to Algiers has not proved so politic as it was spirited. Formerly the Austrian and Italian merchants traded, from a dread of the Algerines, under our flag. Having nothing to fear, they no longer assume our protection.

† Every one on board the Italian vessels has generally a share in its cargo, and consequently looks rather closely to the profit and expenditure.

currants, cotton, &c., for which it settles by barter or sometimes pays in dollars.

What shall I say of the revenue of Greece? Under the Turk it was never great, though the exactions of the Pachas were necessarily as oppressive, as their power was uncertain and transitory. The maxim they followed was, to amass wealth as rapidly as possible; that of the Porte, to cut them off as soon as it was made. Injustice was patronised for the sake of injustice; and thus we always see the corruption of a bad government extending through every artery of the State, till the whole becomes a prey to its own rottenness, and falls to pieces from moral putridity and decay.

At present there is no fixed revenue: a Capitano is given the tax of some district, over which he again places his creatures as collectors. If his and their exactions are insufficient to pay or satisfy

his soldiers, down he marches to the seat of Government, and demands remuneration there. This savours too much of the old system. The more I see of it, the more I am convinced that the Loan ought to have been placed under special control, and devoted to such purposes, as might prevent the possibility of gratifying these claimants, and consequently relieve the Government from their importunities; otherwise we shall have brought, not the olive of Peace, but the torch of Discord into this country.

October.

LETTER IX.

THE circumstances connected with this Revolution appear to have been much misrepresented, or misunderstood. However opportune the insurrection in Moldavia and Wallachia might be, it was by no means related to the great cause of Grecian Liberty.

When Hypsilanti appeared in those provinces, his name, which was attached to the recollection of many of their more popular hospodars, rallied the peasantry round his standard. Irritated by long suffering, they longed to annihilate the tyranny of their boyars; but never dreamt

of the exalted combinations of their chieftain's policy. When they found themselves secondary to Greece, and engaged in a cause indifferent to them, they rushed into the slavery* to escape the vengeance of the Porte; and Hypsilanti, compelled to take refuge in Austria, experienced, as we know, the effects of that Government's tender regard for despotism of all kinds.

Much has been said of the Heteria, and the secrecy with which it carried the vast schemes it agitated in its breast. If its designs were unknown, it was the Sultan only that was ignorant of them. It was no secret in Corfu, that many of that society existed there, who, in 1821, quitted it for Vienna and St. Petersburg.

The policy of Russia has been a subject of much speculation since the commencement of the present contest. Russia was averse to a Revolution which might create

* "Ruere in servitutem."

an independent nation on her southern frontier, or place under any other protection, a country to which she dared not offer her own. For years she had been enlarging the boundaries of her empire; every war was the object of, and every peace concluded with, the possession of some new footing; on which she hoped to steal with noiseless and slow, but sure steps, towards Constantinople.

Europe was only startled for a moment when the armies of Catherine, under Potemkin, possessed themselves of the Crimea. It is impossible to lift the veil of futurity. Russia herself in some few years may be divided into petty states, and, like those animal bodies whose destruction we see occasioned by too much blood, fall a victim to her own greatness.

Her intention, doubtless, was, to wait till she might defy the Western Powers of

Europe, and assume boldly the diadem of the East. When the Greek Revolution broke out, she was taken by surprise: her conduct was closely watched; she was obliged* to wrap herself up in the cold garb of diplomacy, and formally shake off its promoters, as rebels to the Porte.

In proportion to the hopes created among the Greeks, has been the hatred following their disappointment.

Great importance has been attached to Capo d' Istria's visit to Corfu; which, I have it in my power to state pretty confidently, was completely unconnected with political views. He came to that island for the purpose of visiting his respected father, an infirm old man, who died shortly

* Russia let two good opportunities of war escape her; the murder of the patriarch, and the detention of her vessels in the Dardanelles: for which magnanimity we must look in the interference of other powers.

after. A disappointed party assailed him with complaints against the Lord High Commissioner, to which he very improperly, as the subject of another nation, made himself a party by repeating them. The Ionian Government, during Sir Thomas Maitland's life, was hostile to the Greeks; but not so decidedly as to commit any violent act against them. In justice I should say, that his antipathy to their cause has been much exaggerated. I may add, not without authority, that his pen could at one time have signed the death-warrant of the Revolution.

The present Lord High Commissioner has observed a strict neutrality, is esteemed by all parties, and appears fully worthy of his important situation.

Except of the partiality of the Austrians, the Greeks have nothing to complain but their own quarrels and supineness. They have also an intolerance of advice, a sus-

picion of others, and an opinion of themselves which is insufferable. Talk to a Greek of any project, and he shakes his head; for he thinks you have some interest in it. Why has not Patrass * been taken, or any thing done for the permanent good of Greece?

The Greeks will not march now without being well paid, and then they will not approach too near a town. For what Greek can fight against walls?—Why has the nation no navy?

In the formation of a navy, what would become of the merchant-vessels? The

* Patrass has often been besieged and blockaded to very little purpose: a circumstance that could not fail to astonish all, who saw it encircled, at five or six miles distance, with an undisciplined force by land, and by sea with a few brigs. The fortifications are contemptible, but it is not in Greek tactics, for men to attack walls. Every fortress hitherto has been taken by famine. The Greeks have no battering-cannon of sufficient calibre to effect a breach.

head of the Government is a merchant—does the question require any other answer?

The cause of many evils is the unfortunate want of control over the Loan, which cannot now be remedied. The Contractors must fulfil their agreement with a Government, which is, at the least, as strong as when that agreement was made. Had they negotiated it differently, Greece might at the end of this campaign have been saved.

It is a curious circumstance, that, although the 80,000*l.* has been lately paid, and ought to be circulated throughout Greece, we have not seen one specimen of the gold or silver produce of our country.

The manners of the Greeks are little changed since the fall of the Byzantine empire. The Turks have rather adopted their customs than they the habits of their

Mussulman conquerors. Their religion has undergone little or no alteration, and still seems, in many of its practices, to be grafted on their more classic faith. They have their saints, instead of the inferior deities of mythology,—the "Dî maris et terræ tempestatumq; potentes,"—to whom little white chapels are erected on the more elevated promontories of the Archipelago. They have also the dark superstitions to which an ignorant people have been ever subject. The doctrine of the evil eye, the influence of magic, and the efficacy of amulets, are acknowledged by all; and mingle up confusedly with their ideas of the power of God, the divinity of our Saviour, and the mysteries of his holy religion.

We see little of the women, who do not hold a great rank in Grecian society. They meet in considerable numbers at the baths, where characters are discussed, and

defamed, with as much originality as in our own *salons*.

I have had occasion to retract the opinion I gave against Grecian beauty. The Sciote women, many of whom have taken refuge in this town, are as lovely as God, or even Sir Godfrey Kneller,* could have formed them. Their large black eyes have an expression of melancholy voluptuousness, a drowsy seriousness of lust, which suits well with their luxuriant locks and rich complexions.

You shall hear from me soon—*de his et multis aliis;*—at present, your's, &c.

October.

* Pope, knowing the vanity of Sir Godfrey Kneller, once said to him—"On lit dans les Ecritures Saintes, que le bon Dieu faisoit l'homme après son image; mais je crois que s'il voudroit faire un autre à present, qu'il le feroit après l'image que voila," pointing at the same time to one of his pictures. Sir Godfrey turned round, and said very gravely,—"Vous avez raison, Monsieur Pope; par Dieu, je le crois aussi."

LETTER X.

It is singular how often superstition sanctions accident. The Temple of Theseus was struck by lightning at the commencement of the Revolution; and this town surrendered, by the Turks, on the feast of St. Andreas, the saint of the Morea. What other miracles are wanting to consecrate this contest, and invest it with the terrors of a religious struggle?

All our visitors confirm my opinion of Grecian arrogance and self-conceit. In discussing the subject of the Loan, I have spoken to some of the best-informed, on the advantages of a national coin, and the

facility with which it might be stamped in England, and given in future payments. To this proposition, and to every other of the same nature, we have received one unvarying answer—"That it would be attended to at a future day, but that the present was not the time for it."*

Patrass is to be taken to-morrow, *i. e.* I suppose, when a national navy is established, and the absurd system abandoned of hiring vessels at an exorbitant price from crafty merchants, who are thus interested in checking the daring spirit of the sailors. All advice is thrown away, and it is easy to observe that nothing which comes from us is so acceptable as our dollars; even these are scarcely to be

* I am not sure that Greece may not find Liberty pass by her, and then say, with the man who went to sleep at the Coronation:—"Every means was tried to awake me while the procession was going forward, but I still continued sleeping till all the ceremony was over."—GOLDSMITH.

purchased by any exertion. I have made several offers to forward particular objects by the advance of my own money, but have received no answer, and am likely to receive none.* We feel disgusted at such determined procrastination:—but the success with which this great battle for life and liberty has been hitherto maintained, still continues to flatter us, that the spirit of prophecy emanated from the lips of the Greek, when he first sung,

Πίστος ἐς τὴν πατριδα
Τὸν ζύγον συντρίψω.

* I wished for a thorough cleaning of Napoli, which might have given bread to half the starving idlers loitering about the streets; and offered to defray the half of this expense. As it was impossible to relieve all the sick and distressed, I proposed a weekly donation of bread and medicine to a certain number, fifty I think, whom the Government should recommend as related to those who had suffered in the cause of their country. I left the nomination to the Government, since I did not wish to obtain popularity for myself, but to be really useful; of course the nomination was never

We have written a letter to the Executive, acquainting them with the expected arrival of the second payment, and the conditions which were peremptorily necessary to their receiving it. We also alluded to other measures, likely, as we considered, to promote their prosperity, on the expedience of which we proposed to speak, after the return of a satisfactory answer to our present letter.

Mr. Tricoupi has called on us since, a

made. I professed myself likewise willing to contribute to the establishment of a newspaper, which should be written in French, and expressly speak the sentiments of the Government, who would not then be accused of sharing the anarchical and abusive principles, which, as it was said, disgraced other journals. This appeared to me likely to have the good effect of a censorship, without its positive control, leaving to any individual the liberty of attacking Government on its wrong conduct or improvident expenditure, while a direct and public answer could be thus authoritatively returned to Europe. These propositions were not formally made to Government, but communicated to those connected with it, who promised me some reply, with which I was never honoured.

very sensible young man, who was Secretary to Lord Guilford, and now represents Missolonghi in the Greek Assembly. We talked to him of our instructions, and the intention of them, which he seemed far more capable of comprehending than any of those with whom we have hitherto conversed.

It is my opinion, and one not altogether without foundation, that if the country is tolerably composed when the time arrives for a new election, a General Assembly will be held at Athens, and the advantages of a foreign King or foreign protection brought before the people.

I have been much grieved by the sight of a young Englishman to-day, who was romantic enough to quit Cambridge, and enlist himself as a Greek soldier: he is not only suffering from poverty, poor fellow! but from disease, and I fear exhibits the last symptoms of decline.

Heu Fortuna! quis est crudelior in nos
Te Deus!

The long-expected vessel has at length appeared, and is in the harbour. We have received no answer to our letter, I may say repeated letters; for we have addressed the Government more than once. It is time to ascertain the meaning of this silence, and to know if we are to expect the acceptation or rejection of our conditions. All things are doubtful at present, except the sincerity with which I am, yours, &c.

October 9th.

LETTER XI.

AFTER visiting the ship, we repeated our application to the Executive, and begged for a speedy and definitive reply. Mr. Tricoupi again called on us, and requested an explanation of Art. 4th,* expressing a wish to know whether a confirmation of the Deputies' acts, when sanctioned by the Commissioners, included also the necessity of the Commissioners' consent

* "A confirmation of all such acts as your Deputies in England have done, or may do, with the consent of the Commissioners, relative to the purchase of scrip, the postponement of the payments, and the appropriation of part of your Loan to the necessary expenses and charges attending the procuring and forwarding supplies to you, and the remuneration and expenses of all persons necessarily employed in your affairs."

to the acts of the Deputies.* We wrote the following letter to Mr. Conduriotti:

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

IN reply to the communication made to us this morning by Mr. Tricoupi, delegated, as we under-

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* I will take this opportunity of remarking, that the conduct of the Greek Deputies in England has mainly contributed to place Greece in the distressing position in which she at present finds herself.

Had they been open and confiding, or had they even united talent with duplicity, they would have listened to the suggestions of real friends, and acted right, if not from gratitude, from self-interest.

Their dislike to every sensible proposition was artfully shuffled on to the shoulders of those at home. We have no power, said they: we will write to our Government. In five months we shall know their opinion on measures, which, to save our country, ought to be executed now.

To hear of the dissensions in their country was not sufficient. We must be taught their existence in themselves. They resolved to show us the folly of division and the danger of unanimity by one example, differing on every question that related to the good of Greece, and united only in a system of bad conduct.

stood, by your Goverment for that purpose, we have the honour to state that the fourth Article in our letter of the 29th was conceived in the precise terms of our instructions. It certainly appears to us, for the interest and advantage of Greece, that the Deputies should continue to consult, and act with the Commissioners of the third part.

This might prove essentially necessary in case of a sudden depression in your Stock at the time of the fourth or fifth payment; nor can we conceive any measure better calculated to raise your credit, and procure any of your future wishes, than a mark of your confidence and esteem towards those who have already found it in their power to assist you. At all events, in order to prevent any misunderstanding on the part of the Public, it is necessary that the ordinary powers of your Deputies should be made known to us, your communication on the nature of which we shall forward to the Commissioners in England.

We regret that the precise terms of our instructions prevent our giving your Excellency a more explicit answer; but we can most surely affirm, from our knowledge of the disinterestedness of those who have exerted themselves in your cause, that your

Government and its Deputies will find no other but the most honourable conduct and best faith shown on all occasions.

We have the honour to be, &c.

I have since written again: both letters remain unanswered. Browne is taken ill: I am going to Mr. Rodios to state the necessity of some immediate decision.

No answer from the Government, which Mr. Rodios promised me. We shall be obliged to quit the place; I am myself attacked by the fever. Captain Pechell took three or four vessels last night, having entered the harbour to demand some compensation relative to the affair of the Turkish vessel driven on the Ithacan coast, the crew of which was plundered and massacred on Ionian territory.

The authorities, with their usual promptitude, deferred their answer till the time

was elapsed which they had been allowed for sending one.

Captain Pechell during the night made his own terms by force, and has departed with his capture* for Corfu.

Something shall be determined to-day; if we continue unhonoured by an answer, we shall set sail.

My Secretary writes this; I am suffering from fever, both of mind and body, but am

Ever yours.

October.

* The vessels which Captain Pechell took were afterwards restored; the Greeks procured their restitution by following him with the money demanded before he had quitted the gulph.

LETTER XII.

MR. BROWNE alarmingly ill, myself little better, no answer returned to our continued solicitations, and the odium of Captain Pechell's action thrown upon ourselves, it seemed most prudent to depart for the wholesome air of Spezzia, whither we went, forwarding to the Government our intention, and stating that we should wait some days at that island for their final determination.

Messengers were sent, the day after our arrival, to apologize for the continued delays we had found, and to promise future compliance on the part of the Government

with our wishes. Captain Hodgson accompanied them to Napoli, with our strict injunctions to obtain a full assent to the conditions, before he made over a farthing of the money. The negotiation terminated, as you will have heard, favourably; but at the time of Hodgson's return, our physician despaired of our recovery. My weakness had increased to such a degree, that I could not raise my head from my pillow without assistance. In two or three days, however, the hope of getting away was so powerful a reviver, that we were judged sufficiently strong to be carried in chairs to the Florida, in which we trusted to arrive speedily at Smyrna.

It would be impossible, my dear Sheridan, to describe to you the horrors of this dreadful voyage: we were becalmed ten days, during two of which, while in a burning fever, we lived without water. Browne in a state of phrenzy, myself on

the point of death, and for the last three days the Captain himself dangerously ill, were all inclosed in a little cabin during the heats of a Mediterranean sun. The very memory of our miserable state is madness.

On our disembarkation, it was difficult to find a house that would receive us. Mr. Browne was carried to the only inn, or place that could be called an inn, in the town. A widow woman, who received lodgers, also undertook to give me a sort of dog-kennel, in which was stretched a ragged mattress. But even this hospitality was soon denied me, and in a violent access of fever, I was threatened to be turned into the street. These people have a violent dread of consumption, which they consider to be as contagious as the Plague itself; and seeing me in a deplorable state of weakness and emaciation, it was attributed to this dreadful malady, and nothing

could pacify my hostess's fear, nor awaken her humanity.

In the midst of unkindness and desolation, the pity of benevolence is like the spring in the desert, as welcome as refreshing.—Those who have any regard for my life, are entirely indebted for it to Mr. Werry, our Consul. This gentleman no sooner heard of my condition, than, the instant I could be moved with safety, he received me into his house, where I have since remained, experiencing every attention that could be expected by a beloved son. Doctor Clarke, the physician of the Factory, whose skill is universally acknowledged, must also receive from me the tribute of gratitude due to his unremitted assiduity.

Captain Hodgson died the day after our arrival here, having fallen, poor fellow! a victim to the same disease under which I am suffering. Browne is rapidly getting

better. For myself, the fever continues to be intermittent, and I seldom leave my room: those few hours, in which I have sufficient sense to think of any thing, are devoted to the recollection of my dear friends in England, among whom, Sheridan, must ever be numbered yourself.

November.

LETTER XIII.

AFTER repeated relapses, I am again sufficiently strong to let you know of my amendment; though my soul and my body are still on such bad terms, that I cannot feel quite sure of their not parting. Should I relate all that has passed, it would afford me new opportunities of praising my kind friends here. Mr. Werry himself is a man of strong intellect, and favourable to the Turks, only from a mistaken conviction of their superior moral qualities.

When the fire ravaged this city some years ago, he was the last to seek safety;

and had all behaved like himself, the mischief would most probably have been prevented. He told me a circumstance which happened to him at that time, sufficiently strong to prove that there is gratitude as well as honour amongst thieves. Some months previous to the event of which I am now speaking, he saw in the streets one man running with his utmost speed from three or four who were after him with drawn weapons. The natural impulse of the moment was to interfere with the designs of the pursuers, from whom, however, he understood that the person escaping had committed some atrocious crime, for which they were about to render him into the hands of justice. Their information came too late, the ruffian had taken advantage of their momentary halt, and was already out of sight. Months had elapsed, and the circumstance was forgotten. During the confusion occasioned by

the flames, some Dalmatians had landed from an Austrian ship in the harbour, for the purposes of pillage. A party of them made their way to the home of the English consul, who met them at the door with but two or three attendants. The captain of the band lifted up his sabre—at the instant when the blow must have descended, and Heaven decided on its effect, the robber chieftain's head fell dangling on his shoulders, and Mr. Werry saw the man, whose life he had saved, standing by his side, backed by a numerous train of followers, who had entered almost unperceived into the court-yard, and arrived there just in time to prevent the design of the plunderers, who, seeing themselves overmatched, quietly retreated.

Browne is gone: Captain Hamilton has just returned from an engagement with some pirates; his vessel is damaged by having struck against a rock, and he sails

to Malta for the purpose of having it repaired. It is settled, I believe, that I accompany him. If I arrive there otherwise than a corpse, you shall have news of my existence. For the present, believe me, &c.

February.

LETTER XIV.

Me voici! dear Sheridan, on the chivalric rock of Malta! The fever attacked me immediately on landing, and I have been forced to recur to my bed, barley water, and quinine, the most valuable drug, I do assure you, in the Pharmacopœia. Owing to it and God's assistance, I am now on my legs again, or rather, perhaps, in my *caléche*, a wretched kind of jolting vehicle, drawn by one horse, and driven by a ragged, shoeless fellow, who answers in Arabic to all my scoldings or interrogations. But this species of carriage is the only one here, and I am daily tossed about in it for four

good hours at least. So much for the luxuries of convalescence.

The island contains two cities, Citta Vecchia, and Valetta. The principal buildings in Citta Vecchia are the ancient palace of the grand master, and the cathedral. Valetta, founded in 1565, became the residence of the order in 1571. The palace stands in a square, and is one of the best, perhaps, in Europe. The armoury contains military equipments for fourteen thousand men, and there are several complete suits of polished steel in it. I am happy to find by their size, that our ancestors were not such giants. The church of St. John is remarkable for its beautiful pavement, which is formed by sepulchral stones of the most precious marbles, so inlaid as to represent the arms, &c. of those who sleep beneath them. In other times this church was the scene of great splen-

dour: when, on the 8th of September, the chevaliers observed the anniversary of their triumph, and the victorious standard was carried to the foot of the altar, by a knight wearing the costume of the old crusaders.

The hotels of the different tongues, particularly that of the Castilian, are noble edifices; and, in short, I vote the whole city to be worthy of my approbation. I am particularly struck by the apparent newness of the houses. They seem as if, like Aladdin's palace, they had been built in a night.

In entering the great harbour, Fort St. Elmo stands on one side, and the castle of St. Angelo on the other; whose batteries look terrible enough to awe the stoutest ship that ever walked the waters. The lesser port, which is used for the purposes of quarantine, is also strongly defended.

All the fortifications are indeed stupendous, and I only wish that I understood such things sufficiently to give you a better account of them.

The ancient name of the island, as you will remember in Homer, was Hyperia. People say that it formed part of a large tract of land which extended towards the south-west: this supposition is somewhat confirmed by the marks of carriage-wheels, which do not terminate till the edge of the precipice, under which the sea rolls. Be that as it may, the memory of man runneth not to the time which can account for this phenomenon.

Malta is broadest to the east of Valetta, and its cultivated and inhabited parts are separated from the rest by a chain of hills, which cross the country.

I am told by the inhabitants that the summer is quite intolerable here; yet many people prefer this climate to that of Italy,

in the winter. In the spring months the weather is delightful: a beautiful pure sky hangs over us; and the air, from four till seven in the evening, sufficiently warm, is also most refreshing. We may dream poetic visions under myrtle and geranium hedges; and the orange-trees are loaded with fruit, which is in its perfection.

The fields are now covered by the souliah, which looks at a distance like our clover; but the flower, which is of a rich crimson, is longer, the stalk more thick, and the herb altogether of a larger growth. The country is defaced by vile stone walls, dividing every little patch of ground from its neighbour. They are rendered necessary, however, by the thinness of the earth, which is not deeper than one foot above the surface of the rock, and, when the rain descends, would be otherwise washed away by it. The cotton-plant is the chief product of the soil; but trade in this ar-

ticle has suffered much, since it has been grown in Egypt.

The Maltese upon the whole are a stout race, dark, thick-set, and muscular. The men wear a long night-cap, like that of the Ionian peasants, a jacket and girdle, and sometimes, though rarely, stockings. The women have beautiful dark eyes, which flash forth from behind their black silk hoods, or faldettas. It is but lately that females, even of the best classes, have adopted or rather imitated the European costume. Their dress formerly consisted of a short shift, a line under-petticoat, a coloured apron, and a corset with sleeves. They are very fond of ornaments, and Malta is famous for the workmanship of its rose chains and crosses.

The morals of these dames are not the purest.

" et incestos amores
De tenero meditantur ungui."

The ancient ceremonies which attended marriage, &c. are now laid aside. One of them was to rub the lady's lips with a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt and honey, which, it was considered, would render her affable and prudent. Thus, also, on coming from church, if the bride first crossed the threshold, it was supposed that she would be supreme ever afterwards. What a struggle there must have been between the loving couple!

On the death of any one, two women were hired, called Neuicha, who howled and broke the flower-pots, and other pretty things in the house.

At a christening, the child was offered two baskets, the one containing sweetmeats, the other trinkets, corn, an inkstand, and a sword: did he choose the latter, he was deemed a martial genius; but if his hand fell into the ink-stand, then he was to be nailed for life to the counter.

Are not the fates of many of us decided by as mere a chance as this?

The language of the Maltese is a compound gibberish: as may be imagined, from their having been alternately the property of Greeks, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, and a band of masters drawn from all nations. The power of the Hospitallers, though it might have sometimes fallen heavy on their subjects, was not badly balanced among themselves. —These haughty knights only acknowledged the Grand Master as "*primus inter pares*:" neither in the general chapter, nor in the ordinary council, did they allow him any other privilege than the priority and two votes. He had the right, however, of convoking the assembly, and determining the subject of deliberation.

We may smile at the pride of this Order, which commenced in the association of a few charitable persons at Jerusalem; yet

-fancy attaches something noble to the men who deemed a natural son of the royal house of Lorraine too meanly borne to sit amongst them. We cannot wonder that the Directory rose up against such an aristocratic set as this. Yet it is astonishing, when we consider those chivalrous feelings which their former triumphs and existing struggle should have awakened, that those petty sovereigns did not close their reign more proudly,—collected on their island rock, the last of their possessions, where it would have been so glorious to perish.—But it is ever the old story—

—— "Tutum iter et patens—
"Converso in pretium Deo."

Many were bribed, and Napoleon came against them. It must have been difficult for the French knights to make a choice between their native country and the cause of their brotherhood. Do you remember the

saying of Ranijat, when he sent back his keys to the Grand Master: "I was made a knight after I was born a Frenchman."

Counts Gamba and Pecchio called on me in their way to Napoli di Romania, and gave me some papers from the Committee, chiefly speaking of the departure of Counts Santa Rosa and Calegno for Greece; and their contents have formed the subject of a letter which I have just written to the Government.

I have endeavoured to collect some news for you; but as the proverb says, "*le bugie hanno corte le gambe*," and one lie succeeds another so quickly, that to-day's report is sure to be contradicted by that of to-morrow.

We hear from one party, that Patrass has been relieved; that the Pacha of Egypt has landed eighteen thousand men, superiorly equipped, and officered by Europeans;

that the Albanians are marching into the Morea; that the assault of Navarino, and consequently the defeat of the Grand Signior's forces there, has not taken place; and that, in short, the crescent must soon shine victorious over Greece. The Philhellenes, on the contrary, say that Patrass, which was in fact relieved by the French and Austrians, must yet fall; that the number of men landed by the Pacha cannot exceed eight thousand; and as to the officering and equipment, it is all humbug. They own that the Albanians have been gained over by the Porte, but at the same time declare, that the passes are all seized, and so guarded, that nothing can be apprehended from them: they also insist most strenuously on the repulse of the enemy, with the loss of three thousand at Navarino. From what I know of the country, and the disposition of its in-

habitants, I should say that Greece, whatever may be its fate, can never be reconquered by its ancient masters. The people, no doubt, are heartily tired of the war, and not less so of the civil dissensions. They would submit to any form of government, however arbitrary, that promised tolerable security to their lives and property. They would accept a foreign king, or any king that had sufficient strength to establish order. But the Turk—no; their fears, their vanity, their religion, are all combined in their detestation of the Turk; and the greatest coward among them would sooner be cut to pieces, than resume the chains which he has broken. Besides, it is the interest of their two most formidable foes not to subdue them. The Albanian, we are aware, will fight for any one who promises him pay or plunder; both of these must cease when there is no enemy to vanquish. The Pacha, by in-

creasing the authority of the Porte, annihilates his own utility to it, and most probably falls a sacrifice to its power.

These causes will protract the war: its protraction is the sole thing that can ever give the Greeks a national government, or make them worthy of it. I doubt if our money, creating as much discord as it appears, is not like the spear of Achilles, only useful in healing the wounds that it inflicts.

The French and Austrians, as I have said, are decidedly favouring the infidels. In the Turkish navy, as well as in their army, Christians are to be found of all nations.

" But Freedom's battle once begun,
And thus bequeathed from sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

In a few days I sail in the Cambria, which carries Lord Hastings to Nice. You shall hear from me on my arrival there.

Malta, April, 1825.

LETTER XV.

We quitted Malta, as it had been arranged, on the 26th, when Lord Hastings came on board, under a salute of fifteen guns from St. Angelo, which the Cambrian returned, and set sail immediately, with a light wind blowing from the south-east.

"Oh! Love, what is there in this world of ours,
Which makes it fatal to be loved?"

We had not got far, when it was discovered that a sailor had poisoned himself for love of a cook-wench.

I never told you a horrid story which I heard at Malta. There was a beautiful girl, the daughter of a merchant in the place,

so unfortunate as to inspire two brothers with the same passion. The youngest, of a light and gay disposition, succeeded in winning her affections. The other might feel more deeply, but he said less, and was no adept in the craft of courtship:—in short, he was the unfortunate suitor; the damsel gave her hand to his rival, but, if they had been united in the month of May,* the union could not have proved more ill-omened.

On the happy eve, the bridegroom was missed from the dance, and the anxious company watched in vain for his return. The music ceased, the party separated, and the lady retired solitarily to her bed-chamber; nothing was seen of her husband till the morning, when he was found murdered in the garden, and the knife in his breast recognised as his brother's.

* The Maltese, from some superstition or other, never are married in this month.

The parents were the prosecutors of their sole remaining son: he was found guilty, and executed. They soon after lost their senses, and the wretched bride wears the habit of a nun, for which she exchanged her nuptial garment.

We made the Sicilian coast on Wednesday the 27th, soon after day-light, and on Thursday were off Maritimo. On Saturday, Rome would have been visible, but for the haze. The islands of Elba and Monte Cristo, and the northern side of Sardinia, came in sight by Sunday afternoon. It was on Monday, I think, that we caught our first glimpse of Corsica's tall rocks, crowned with snow.

We must confess ourselves the creatures of circumstances, and that our thoughts and wishes alter vastly as the scene shifts in our existence. If any one had told Buonaparte, when a boy, that the little island he saw from his native shore should

one day be a kingdom to him, how the promise would have exceeded his hopes; yet, in a few years, its sovereignty was punishment and exile.

Mentoni and Monaco were distinct yesterday; and to-day (Thursday) we have floated quietly past the picturesque olive-grounds of Oneiglia. To-morrow, I hope, will end our journey, though at present there is scarcely a breath of air to disturb the peace of the waters. Again, adieu! I will write either from Lyons or Paris, that is, if I find any thing to say which may entertain you. Inclosed is the copy of a letter, which I have written to the Greek Government on the subject of which I spoke.

On board the Cambria,
May, 1825.

TO THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

EXCELLENT SIRS,

I HAVE received a letter from the Greek Committee, with the contents of which I take the earliest opportunity to acquaint you. There appears to have been some misunderstanding between them and Messrs. Orlando, Zaimis, and Luriotti's, relative to the departure of the Counts Santa Rosa and Calegno for Greece. The Committee felt anxious to prevent what seemed likely to create an hostility towards you in neutral powers, whom it was better policy to conciliate. They wish to separate your cause from the dissensions of other countries, and rest it on its real basis; not that of a party struggling for political liberty, but the still broader one of a people contending for their natural rights and positive existence.

Mr. Bowring mentioned their sentiments on this subject to Mr. Orlando, and noticed the imprudence of permitting the Counts to sail for Greece, in a vessel expressly freighted for the Government. Mr. Orlando acquiesced in this opinion: yet, in a few

days, the Little Sally leaves England with these gentlemen on board.

I do not take upon myself to blame your Deputies, since, as your interests were solely concerned, you will doubtless be the best judges of how they were attended to.

Yet there is something extraordinary in their saying, that, if they had known the thoughts of the Committee previous to the sailing of the Little Sally, they would have acted differently. They did know the thoughts of the Committee, from the communication made by Mr. Bowring to Mr. Orlando. The Committee lament the little attention paid to several suggestions, which were not offered to your Representatives till after the most diligent inquiry as to their utility, and the most perfect conviction of their importance.

Of this nature was the purchase of a small steamboat, to facilitate the communication between our countries; as also, of two large steam-vessels for the purposes of war, than which nothing could be more effective, during the long calms to which your seas are subject.

I must add, however, that the latter proposition had been acceded to, until the letters brought by Mr.

Hastings were stated to contain your disapprobation of it. The Committee excessively regret, that the battering train, some time since, was not sent immediately to Greece: Patrass would not have held out three days, nor have been at this day, as now perhaps it may long continue, in the power of the enemy.

Would it not be advantageous to have a body of troops armed and disciplined after the European manner, by whom your own soldiery would be formed, and the open country kept against the Turk?

Might not the formation of an Admiralty Court, or Board of Marine, combine and systematise your operations by sea? Surely, also, a national navy would be more useful to you than the present plan of employing merchant-vessels, the owners of which must naturally be too careful of their property to risk it sufficiently for your service.

I can repeat what I had the honour of stating to you in Greece, that there are many in England willing to fit out privateers in your cause, if furnished by you with letters of marque, without which they might be treated as piratical adventurers.

I make these suggestions with the diffidence of one who is not on the scene of action, and who has been

prevented by ill health from acquiring a correct knowledge of late events. Whatever may be your opinion of them, I trust that you will believe me sincerely attached to your glorious cause, and most anxious to hear continual accounts of its success.

And believe me,

Excellent Sirs,

Very truly yours,

H. L. BULWER.

LETTER XVI.

"I WOULD rather be a kitten, and cry mew," than one of these same sailors, Sheridan. Thank God! the voyage is over; but it brought on another fit of fever, from which I suffered, more or less, during the whole of my stay at Nice.

We lay almost a week in the Bay of Villa Franca, while the people were deliberating about the time of our quarantine. Fifteen days is the term of purification at Genoa; but, owing to representations from Marseilles, the authorities have insisted on accounting us dangerous for twenty-eight. Nothing was ever more ridiculous than the

conduct of these little great men. They did not wish to disoblige Lord Hastings, and were at first willing to permit his lordship's landing, and that of his family, while we, in good sooth, were to have been kept two or three weeks longer in quarantine.

This plan being abandoned, their next was, to permit our disembarkation altogether; but, though the marquis's luggage accompanied him untouched, it was determined that our poor shirts, &c. so much more likely to contain the plague, were to be hung up, as votive offerings, I suppose, for our safe arrival, in the classic walls of the Lazaretto. During this time, we were to pay our visits without it, or lie in bed, like the Irish gentleman, while our sole *chemise* was washing.

I will not tell you which I preferred, but only recommend you never to put yourself in quarantine at Nice, nor have

any thing to do with these *Nice* legislators.

The Bay at Villa Franca is very pretty; and some ruins of an old castle on a hill form a picturesque object from it.

The town of Nice contains good houses, and good company, as I hear, in the season. From its being the winter residence of so many English, the people have become acquainted with our wants and habits: so that we may have the advantage of enjoying almost every comfort under a cloudless sky, which we find at home under a foggy one.

It is clean, and has an excellent promenade by the sea. If the plan of which they talk is carried into execution, and the road continued to Genoa, this must become a flourishing and populous place: the passage of the Alps might be avoided; and most travellers would prefer, I should think, such a route into Italy. The sur-

rounding country is beautiful beyond description, abounding in pleasant rides, while nothing can be more luxurious than the climate. The air is perfumed with its productions; and though the earth had been without rain for eight months, at the time of my arrival the verdure had all the richness and freshness of a moist vegetation.

I went to see a most lovely villa unfortunately in ruins, about a mile and a half from the town. Sir William Knighton, when here, talked of buying it. With its gardens, and a small piece of ground, it would cost near £2000; but it is a perfect paradise.

The Var separates Piedmont from France; and a singular instance of the attachment of the Lutula, or fire-fly, to Italy, is its never having been found on the opposite bank.

The road to Turin, by the Paglion, as

far as I rode one night, is excellent. A bridge has been lately built over this river, since which time, of course, there has been no water in it.

Provence is the land of the Troubadour: I send you a song, which you may call his "Lament," if you please.

THOSE were the minstrel's joyous times,
The merry days of old;
When beauty praised his artless rhymes
And verse outvalued gold.
The iron bosom own'd his skill,
The softer loved its sway,
Where'er the wanderer went, he still
Was ever bade to stay.
None thought the old man tarried long,
And kindness was repaid by song.

But welcome now attends on state,
However mean it be;
The bard may rove from gate to gate
A wretch despised—like me.
It is not, if I mourn the past,
That I regret to-day;

Not for a sceptre would I cast
My humble harp away;
Yet fain would I recall the hour
When it was tuned in knightly bower.

And, Provence, though within thy walls
The song is heard no more
At Chivalry's fair festivals,
As in thy halls of yore;
Yet, Provence, are thy olive-groves,
That bloom around me here,
As dear to him, who through them roves,
As his rude harp is dear.
Yes, yes, despite of every ill,
My land, my lyre, I love ye still,

LETTER XVII.

THE good people at the frontier showed a very different disposition from our friends at Nice. We already felt the effects of French politeness; they would only look at our servants' baggage, and did not attempt to touch our own. During this ceremony, I had a long chat with the "*officier des douanes*," who began the conversation by asking me if I had ever dipped into H. Tooke's Επεα Πτεροεντα. He was a gentleman, indeed, of very general information, showed me a Pindar and a Hesiod in his library, and professed himself a great admirer of Anacreon; as he read English,

I recommended him Moore's translation, and we parted excellent friends.

An old soldier was standing at the door, one of those odd fellows, with whom we sometimes meet, called Characters. If the gods intended him for an Agamemnon, he shone far better as Thersites. This hero had served "*le grand Empereur*;" and a red coat buttoned up to his chin, covered with tarnished lace and tattered fur, bore testimony to its master's former consequence, and present desolate condition. He addressed me in English, mentioning that he had been for some time our prisoner. On his return to France, anxious to see his mother's family, which was Florentine, he had quitted the army, and begged his way to Florence: all his kindred, poor fellow! were dispersed or dead, and he had now to beg his way back again. But he did not seem down-hearted. On the contrary "*Que voulez-vous?*" said he: "we

all have our mishaps. Here is a wound which one of you gave me at St. Martinique!" pointing to his head. "*Ma foi*, I would have given him as much as I could, —*c'est la guerre, Monsieur, la guerre—la guerre.*"

I could not help envying this merry little personage; for, with many more blessings apparently in store for me, I felt not half so happy—*mais*

"Fouette, cocher, dit la Fortune,
Et vous voilà sur le chemin!"

We passed through Antibes, called "la bonne," from its loyalty in firing at the officer whom Napoleon sent to reconnoitre its dispositions, when he returned from Elba. It possesses a strong castle, and is famous for its fruit, oil, and anchovies. The little Isle of Saint Marguerite is, as you know, celebrated for the captivity of the man in the Iron Mask, about whom so many wise heads have been puzzled.

In our road to Cannes, we saw the site of Buonaparte's last disembarkation. A few years ago, the stones encumbered the road, which were intended to commemorate it.

"Nunc" Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum, &c.

There are the remains of a fine aqueduct, and other Roman buildings, at Frejus. Cæsar gave this town the name of Forum Julii; and it is entitled to a little veneration as the birthplace of our ancient lord and master, Agricola.

It is wretchedly damp and unwholesome —I think Smollet says, "the very ducks have the ague there." But I was tired and hungry, and not at all sorry, therefore, when we stopped at the door of a miserable *auberge;* and our host, as he showed me into a chamber, in which, by the by, Napoleon once slept, promised that an excellent

supper should be on the table in a few minutes.

On quitting Frejus, the road runs through a beautiful valley, as far as Le Luc, of which the chief ornament still continues to be the olive;—not the magnificent olive of Nice, but one that dwindles and degenerates at every step that we proceed on our journey. We passed by the cottage in which Pauline awaited the landing of her brother. Our carriage broke down at Le Luc; and while it was mending, I got a post-horse and rode back to see it. This villa is extremely pretty, built in the Italian style, and no doubt the admiration of the neighbourhood. Its gardens are laid out in terraces, very much *à l'Anglaise*, which is accounted for by Mr. Charles, the proprietor, having been married to one of our fair countrywomen.

This house contains a picture-gallery, of which I had heard a flourishing account

from my host at the inn. Like all other wonders in narrative, it lost considerably by being seen. The best pieces were portraits of the old king of Naples, his wife, and daughter. There was a tolerably good painting also, on the fable of the Lion and the Mouse. My attendant showed me a chamber, in which had reposed the mighty Emperor, and assured me that the English paid it much veneration;—for my own part, I felt more inclined to adore the apartment of his sister, and I told him so.

On my return, we proceeded on our route, and arrived at a most comfortable inn at Brignolles; a little town, famous, by the way, for the excellence of its plums.

The country, through the last stage, was beautiful, but hilly; the climate began to be much colder. All the peasants, and their houses, as well as those of the gentry, bore a very neat and creditable appearance. The coats of the mules about this place

are shorn, without which operation they would not be very unlike the horses of Herodotus.

Having slept at Brignolles, we bade good b'ye to our old landlady at an early hour, and starting, passed through Tourves, where, like one of those crosses which remind one of some almost forgotten murder, stand the melancholy ruins of an old chateau, destroyed in the Revolution. We then went on to St. Maximin and La grande Pugece, the road still continuing in a valley rich with mulberry-trees and olives.

On entering Aix, the little river d'Arc is to the left, hanging over which the mountain rises abruptly into rocks. The ancient capital of Provence is one of those towns which pleased me most of any that I have ever seen. The principal street somewhat resembles the Boulevards, being bordered by magnificent elms, and com-

posed of superb mansions. In it are some hot springs, and a statue of one of the old kings of the country. But this beautiful city, as I heard from a Frenchman, with whom I made acquaintance at the book-seller's, is now comparatively deserted. Most of the fine houses which I saw, were to be let; and though there is sufficient lodging for a population of fifty thousand, twenty thousand is its utmost extent.

From Aix to Orgon, where we slept, the road lies through a fine country, but the wind is a great nuisance, and justifies the old proverb:

> "Le Parlement, la Mistrale, et la Durance,
> Sont les trois fléaux de la Provence."

We reposed at a miserable inn; our beds being decorated with silk coverlids and ragged curtains—*tout à la Française.*

Quitting our splendid misery, for such it really was, on a fine morning, to the left of us stood Mount Ventoux, his silvered

head reaching into the clouds. Leaving St. Audion, our road lay across the Durance: which we passed, over a well-constructed bridge, built by Napoleon, and similar to one that he also erected at Avignon. The landscape around us was one highly cultivated, our journey being through rich corn-fields, inclosed by as neatly trimmed hedges as we may boast in England.

And now we approached classical and holy ground:—the pale languid form of the pensive lover, or the proud pomp of papal sovereignty, might alike be visible to the intellectual eye. Poor Petrarch! we can fancy him the mournful muser at Vaucluse; or, gliding rapidly through the crowded streets of Avignon, imitating, without feeling, the bustle of mankind, and hurrying, as it were, from his own thoughts.

The entrance into this city, or rather the road round its walls before you enter it,

is very pretty. The walls themselves are regular, with little square turrets in them, exactly like those we see in the scenery of a theatre.

The palace, in which reigned so many spiritual princes, has all the gloom and magnificence pertaining to the religion of which they were high priests; a Gothic edifice, vast, solemn, and mysterious.

Eight hundred, as we heard, was the annual calculation of foundlings received into the hospital at Avignon: a number which our informer attributed to the presence of the garrison, and a superabundance of jolly friars, in whose schools the rule of multiplication was practised with great ingenuity. There is no doubt that these gentry, being classical scholars, remembered the apprehensions of the ancient Spartans, who sent back some of their brethren for the purposes of generation. "Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt."

We crossed the Rhone, on entering Avignon; and it continues on our left some time after our quitting it. Near Orange the aspect of the country is sterile and disagreeable; we dined there, and while dinner was preparing, I walked to see the celebrated arch at the northern entrance, which seemed to have been a magnificent piece of architecture. Again the landscape became beautiful — the mountains rising to the right, and overlooking a most fertile and delightful valley.

We passed through the little village of Grignan, hallowed by the memory of Madame de Sévigné, who is buried there. Montélimar was our resting-place, recommended by an excellent inn and civil hostess.

On quitting Montélimar, the Rhone flowed on at the base of the mountains to our left; its farthest bank richly shadowed by trees, while on the other extended

large and fertile corn-fields. We saw a sportsman *au Louis Quatorze*, with a splendid cocked hat and other tattered and tawdry finery, looking much like those figures we set up in our gardens to drive the birds away.

In Valence, which is famous for its artillery school, there are some very elegant cafés, with rose-embowered porticoes.

The people of this neighbourhood appear a fine hardy race; and the north winds throw a colour into their faces.

We bade adieu to these blasts, on passing the Isère, which we crossed in a ferry-boat, *malgré* Mr. Richard's bridge, which he raised, I suppose, by anticipation, since it is now building, and will not for some months be finished: as our landlady at Tain said, "Dans ce pays-ci on travaille par degrès, Monsieur."

At every step we perceived a change in the climate. We said farewell to the

olives at Péage de Rousillon, and no longer felt ourselves in the South.

We did not arrive at Vienne, which was our night quarters, without an accident. Our old carriage, on entering it, fell to pieces. I lounged through the town before breakfast. It is certainly very dirty, and the streets are dark and narrow; but some of the shops are tidy ones, and there seemed an air of bustle and business about the place, which one seldom sees in the provincial towns of France. The cathedral is a fine gothic building; a poor shivering old woman bending over her crucifix in the most solemn devotion, was an interesting object in it. Indeed, I have always observed, that the lower class of Catholics, on the Continent, are more earnest in their prayers, than Protestants of the same rank in England. There is an enthusiasm in their worship, which, I must confess, pleases me.

Cocked hats were all the fashion: among many whom I saw with them was an old butcher—a knife slung beside him, a three-cornered hat of immoderate dimensions, a greasy handkerchief round his neck, a sky-blue coat, yellow breeches, stockings of the same hue, and shoes with enormous buckles in them, made a complete figure of this calf-killing paragon, who strutted by me with no inconsiderable ideas of his own importance.

We had an excellent breakfast, and showed ourselves proper knights of *La table ronde;* which, to explain my witticism, was the name of our inn. Among other curiosities which I discovered in my stroll, was a beautiful arch, poked into a nasty dirty corner, looking as much out of place as the picture of King George *dans un certain lieu.*

Vienne contains a population of 18,000. There is a cloth-manufactory in it; and a

Scotchman, of the name of Douglas, who has obtained a patent for carding wool, is making his fortune rapidly.

I asked our host, by the by, whether there was always a fête throughout France on the day of the King's coronation? "Yes, yes, Sir," said the old man; "for our kings are always wise enough to be crowned on a Sunday."

Our carriage was at last repaired, and we started, but in a few minutes were again shipwrecked, and a blacksmith called to our assistance, who, as my servant remarked, knew no more of a coach than a cow of a new shilling. He succeeded, however, in restoring the vehicle to a condition which enabled it to rumble on to Lyons.

The country, as we proceeded, was inclosed, and chiefly grass-land. We passed a diligence, on the top of which was a dog quivering and tottering, an excellent em-

blem of undue exaltation. On descending the hills to St. Fons, our friendly Rhone was seen running through a verdant valley, with some pretty white cottages stretched along its shore; Lyons, too, was in view, and its tall avenue of trees.

On entering this town, we were immediately struck by its life and business. Our hotel and accommodation are, as might be expected, good. We have purchased a new carriage, and, in three or four days, hope to be in Paris.

Lyons, May.

LETTER XVIII.

The Quai, which you remark on quitting Lyons, is fine, and the objects on it all in unison with the trade and populousness of the place.

The prospect, as we left Limonest, gave us inclosed fields, rich woods and villages rising round the country. We saw several small diligences, called, in this part of the world, *patachcs.* The cows grazing along the road-side were white and extremely handsome.

We slept at Tournus, a little town on the right bank of the Soane.

This district appeared more thickly in-

habited than any through which we had passed. The blue frock of the peasant, and his cocked hat, formed a *tout ensemble* rather ridiculous. The soil must be damp, from the number of poplars and willows which were growing every where. I was much pleased with the view of Chalons, as we saw it stretching along the water, its farther end embosomed in trees. The canal, which joins the Soane at this town, contributes greatly to its commerce.

There is a very picturesque ruin, apparently the remains of an old castle, near St. Emilian. The road to Autun lies over a heath, the yellow broom of which was beautiful. At Saulieu the people were trolling about in sabots. We entered it during a magnificent thunder-storm; for the terrors of which we were recompensed by a comfortable inn, clean bed-rooms, and a smiling hostess, whom I scolded for calling me "Monsieur qui est malade."

From Saulieu to St. Roche-en-Breny, we were in an extensive forest; nor was it possible to travel through France at a more agreeable season; every thing was so fresh and beautiful. At Lucy le Bois, I recognized the old room in which we supped on our way to Greece.

Auxerre is a pleasant town, situated on the Yonne. There are many beggars in these parts, very few of whom we saw southwards. The evening also closed in thunder, in lightning, and in rain; so that we rejoiced at reaching Ivigny, where, by the by, many English have taken up their residence.

We set off on a rainy morning, with the delightful anticipation of sleeping at Paris: the Yonne to our left, the bank sloping down to its brink, and covered with vines. The road from Sens to Paris is broad and level, with a superb row of trees on each side of it.

And in Paris at length we are; having succeeded, after some difficulty, in finding lodgings.

Here, I trust, end both my travels and misfortunes, of which I have given you a long and, no doubt, tedious account. I will only conclude by assuring you of the truth of Horace's old saying, "Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt," and that I am

Ever yours.

Paris, May.

TO THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

MOST EXCELLENT SIRS,

It is idle any longer to throw a veil over the face of affairs. I will not participate in the inventions of news-mongers and stock-jobbers, or insult the calamities of Greece by speaking to you of her prosperity. We all know that nothing short of a miracle, your own good conduct for instance, can save her.

The best lesson of prudence is the history of misfortune. Then allow me to call to your recollection that moment when Greece threw off her chains, and seemed only to require care that she might walk steadily towards freedom. We will advance the period, if you please. We will review her rapid and glorious successes—Tripolizza taken, Napoli surrendered, and almost

every fortress her own throughout the Peloponnesus.

At this happy moment nothing appeared wanting, except money properly applied, to secure the continuance of good fortune. The name of our illustrious countryman who joined your cause, or your own name—for Greece was dear to the hearts of many of us—was sufficient to procure it. Your title to assistance gained you the credit of good conduct, and your only necessity was supplied by the generosity of the British public.

I now arrive at a very serious subject; and let me ask from your hands—for from your hands your country may require it—some account of the sums advanced for public purposes, and which, we begin to believe, have been used for private ends. I trust that the memoranda of their expenditure are safely deposited in your own breasts. The world, at least, know no-

thing of them; and perhaps it might be as well for your consciences if you were equally ignorant.

Where is the whole of the first Loan, and that part which you have received of the second? Is my question impertinent? Allow me to frame the answer which, if you spoke confidentially, I should receive. You might tell me, that you have supported a faction at great expense; that you have preferred hiring vessels of yourselves, to purchasing a fleet for the public; that, instead of cultivating the olive of peace, you have carried the torch of discord through your country; and that, sensible at last of the impolicy of dishonesty, you wish, too late, that you had acted more wisely. We are now come to the point at which, if you are truly repentant, I will stop to advise you.

Encourage no longer the fabricators of fictions which you make no attempt to

realize! We have been sufficiently amused by the anecdotes of a ready invention—by battles never fought but on paper, and victories which have been gained without a contest.

You begin to be deceived by your own imagination, and, intending a cheat on the public, have surely duped yourselves. Do not confound the sense of weakness with a contempt of danger. A want of arms is not valour. Procure, if it be not too late, the true sinews of war—good ships, good officers, with whatever may contribute to their utility. You have already a hardy peasantry, and sailors who must have been more than victorious under any other Government but your own. Do not fight with reeds when you should use daggers, and let every blow that you strike be at the heart of the enemy. Renounce the distrust of others, which affords such an argument for suspicion against yourselves!

Appropriate the remainder of your Loan to really useful and national purposes! Confide the control of it to some person who is a man, and an independent man, who is uninterested in your separate factions, and therefore able to govern them all. A portion of it is still in the hands of the Contractors; they are men of character, who must have other motives for engaging in the cause of Greece than the profits of a commission. Let me beg them, as they regard Greece, as they regard their own reputation, their own interests, and the interests of those whom they represent, to deal out their money in future with a proviso for its application. To these gentlemen I say nothing further; and now, Excellent Sirs, as I return to you, let me solicit your remembrance of an old saying, "That if wisdom is bought by experience, it may often become a dear bargain."—"Prosperity attends on care, activity, and

good counsels: when you become the slaves of ignorance and sloth, it is vain that you invoke the gods, they are hostile and angry."

I am, Excellent Sirs,
Yeur obedient humble Servant,
H. LYTTON BULWER.

Brookes's, Nov. 9, 1825.

APPENDIX.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND INDIVISIBLE TRINITY.

THE Greek Nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and Men, by the organ of its lawful Representatives, met in a national Assembly, its Independence.

EPIDAURUS,
1*st of January*, 1822, *and the First Year of Independence.*

CHAPTER I.

Section I.

Of Religion.

*1. The established religion in Greece is that of the Orthodox Church of the East. All other forms of worship are, however, tolerated, and their ceremonies and religious practices are followed without molestation.

Section II.

General Rights of the Inhabitants of Greece.

*2. Every individual of the Christian faith, whether a native or definitively settled in Greece, is a Greek, and entitled to an equal enjoyment of every right.

3. All Greeks are equal before the law, without regard to rank, class, or dignity.

* These two articles suffice to refute the commonplace declamations of those who contend that the Greeks *persecute* the Roman Catholics.

4. Foreigners enjoy in Greece every social security.

5. The Government will speedily promulgate a law concerning naturalization.

6. All Greeks are eligible for all dignities and employments, in proportion to their capacity, and to their merit.

7. The laws secure to every citizen his property, his honour, and his personal safety.

8. The taxes are fairly divided among the citizens of every class. No tax is levied without a previous law.

CHAPTER II.

Section III.

On the Form of Government.

9. The Government is composed of the Senate and of the Executive Power.

10. The concurrence of these two powers

is requisite for passing a law; the decisions of the Senate not having the force of a law, without the sanction of the Executive Power; nor can the proposals of the Executive be operative unless adopted by the Senate.

11. The Senate is composed of Representatives chosen in the different parts of Greece.

12. Till the promulgation of a law of election, the number of Representatives is undetermined.

13. The Government will provisionally decree a law of election, combining the two following conditions:

14. The representatives must be Greeks.

15. They must be thirty years of age.

16. All the Deputies of the free parts of Greece are admitted and have seats in the Senate, after the examination and verification of their powers.

17. The Senate names its President and Vice-President for one year, by the plurality of voices.

18. In like manner it names two Secretaries and their adjuncts.

19. The functions of the Senators end at the expiration of a year.

20. The Executive Power is composed of five members, taken out of the body of the Senate, and named by a special college, according to a law, which is to regulate the election.

21. The President and Vice-President of the Executive Power are annual officers. The mode of their election is prescribed by the same law.

22. The Executive Power names eight Secretaries; of whom the first is the Secretary of State, who directs the department of foreign relations. After him come the Secretaries of the Interior, of Public Economy, of Justice, of War, of the Marine, of Divine Worship, and of the Police.

23. All the subaltern agents of administration are, in like manner, named by the Executive Power.

24. This power is renewed every year.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION IV.

Duties of the Senate.

25. Considering the urgency of the circumstances in which our country is placed, the Senate is this year to pursue its operations without repose.

26. The President is to preside over the daily sittings, to mark the hour of their opening, and alone to have the right of closing them.

27. In case of necessity he is entitled to convoke the Senate for an extraordinary sitting.

28. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President is to discharge his duties.

29. The Senate is sufficiently numerous to deliberate, when two-thirds of its members are present.

30. The decisions of the Senators are determined by a majority of votes.

31. When the votes are equally divided, the party with whom the President votes carries it.

32. The acts or decrees of the Senate are to be signed by the President and the first Secretary.

33. The President communicates the decisions of the Senate to the Executive Power; which, by its approbation, gives them the force of law.

34. If the Executive refuses its sanction, or makes amendments for which it gives reasons, the proposed law is referred again to the discussion of the Senate. And if it persists in its first opinion, and the Executive continues to reject it, the law is not promulgated.

35. The Senate is to deliberate on the petitions which it may receive.

36. It names eight committees of correspondence for the Secretaries of State, and changes them every three months.

37. The President of the Senate allots to each committee its respective labours, and each

proceeds to examine the proposed laws which answer to the nature of its attributions.

38. Any Deputy may propose a law. He delivers it in writing to the President, who orders the Appropriate Committee to make a report on it to the Assembly.

39. The Senate, deliberating on the bills which the Executive submits to it, may adopt or reject them.

40. No declaration of war, nor any treaty of peace can be made, without the participation of the Senate. In like manner, every agreement of whatever nature, between the Executive and a Foreign Power, must be previously approved by the Senate, except in the case of a very short armistice.

41. The Senate discusses and votes, at the beginning of every year, the probable amount of the public receipts and disbursements. At the end of the year it regulates and verifies the general state of the same articles. But for the service of this first year it is, without delay, to supply the Government with a credit proportioned to its wants, although it is as yet unable

to draw up the annual budget, by reason of its having been so recently instituted, and of the difficulty of foreseeing the rate of expenses. The Government will not, however, be the less bound to present the general accounts at the end of the year.

42. The Senate has the right of approving the military promotion which the Government proposes.

43. It is likewise entitled to decree, on the proposal of the Government, the distinguished recompenses due to patriotic services.

44. It is to settle a new system of money to be struck at the national mint, under the direction of Government.

45. The Senate is expressly forbidden to accede to any transaction, which threatens the political existence of the nation. On the contrary, if it perceives the Executive engaged in negotiations of this nature, the Senate is to prosecute the President; and, after his condemnation, to declare his charge forfeited in the face of the Nation.

46. Every periodical writer has a free entry in the sittings of the Legislative Body. He is

excluded only from the secret committees formed on the petitions of five members.

SECTION V.

Of the Secretaries of the Senate.

47. The first Secretary draws up all the acts or decrees of the assembly, and keeps an exact register of them.

48. He is commissioned by the President to send the decrees of the Senate to the Executive Power.

49. In the absence of the first Secretary, the second discharges his functions.

SECTION VI.

50. When one or several members of the Senate are accused of a political crime, a jury of seven Deputies, named for this purpose, examines the validity of the accusation, and gives

its opinion in writing. If two-thirds of the Senate support the accusation, the Deputy is declared to have forfeited his dignity, and is sent, as a simple citizen, before the Supreme Tribunal of the State, which determines the degree of the offence, and its corresponding penalty.

51. No member of the Senate can be imprisoned before he is deprived of his dignity.

52. If one of the members of the Executive is accused in the midst of the Senate of a political offence, a committee of nine members examines and makes a report on the case. As soon as four-fifths of the Senate have pronounced against the accused, the President of the Senate proclaims him stripped of his dignity, and sends him before the Supreme Tribunal, where he undergoes the penalty which corresponds to his offence.

53. If accusations for a similar offence are established in the Senate against one or more secretaries of state, the proceedings and the judgment are carried on in the same forms as against members of the Senate. (50)

CHAPTER IV.

Section VII.

Duties of the Executive.

54. The Executive Power, taken collectively, is inviolable.

55. When an accusation of felony is directed against this power, the President is put on his trial (45), and his place filled, if he is convicted. Then the other members, one by one. (52.)

56. The Executive Power presides over the application of laws.

57. It sanctions the bills of the Senate, or opposes to them its Veto, (34.)

58. It submits bills to the deliberation of the Senate, and has them supported in the discussion by one or more secretaries of state, and especially by that secretary, whose department is interested in the proposed law.

59. All acts and ordinances of the Govern-

ment are signed by the president, countersigned by the secretary of state, and sealed with the seal of state.

60. The Executive Power directs the land and sea forces.

61. It sends out instructions, and applies general laws to particular cases.

62. In points in which the general police and safety of the state are concerned, the Executive Power has a right to take extraordinary measures, on condition of immediately referring them to the Senate.

63. The Executive Power can contract loans both at home and abroad, and pledge the national property for them, consulting however the Senate.

64. It can equally, and under the same condition, alienate a portion of this property, according to the wants of the State.

65. In appointing eight secretaries, it traces out to each the circle of his functions, which he cannot exceed.

66. The Secretaries of State are responsible in the exercise of their functions. They cannot execute any act or ordonnance of the Executive

Power contrary to the rights and duties which the present constitution defines.

67. The Executive Power names the Ministers and all other diplomatic agents with foreign powers.

68. It explains with fidelity to the Senate the state of the relations of Greece with these powers, and the internal situation of the country.

69. It can displace all the Government agents.

70. In case of need, it convokes the Senate for an extraordinary sitting.

71. If a crime of high treason were to be discovered, the Executive Power is entiled to take such measures as it may judge necessary, whatever might be the rank of the guilty.

72. In such a case, it may, if it judges it requisite, provisionally make military promotions, which it submits to the Senate for its approbation.

73. It must within two days give in detail to the Senate the reasons which necessitated these extreme measures.

74. The Executive Power, directing the

forces by sea and land, may, in time of war, take all the requisite measures for lodging, provisioning, and equipping the national troops.

75. It is to propose a law for the institution of decorations as a reward for public services.

76. The Executive Power corresponds with Foreign Powers, and may commence negociations. As for declarations of war, treaties of peace, and other conventions, it must submit them for the ratification of the Senate.

77. It can only conclude armistices for a few days (40), under the obligation too of communicating them to the Senate.

78. It is to present to the Senate, at the beginning of the year, the budget for the public service, and at the end a detailed statement of the receipts and expenses. These two accounts must be drawn up by the Secretary of Public Economy, and the different acknowledgments of the other Secretaries must be annexed to it. But for the first year the Executive Power is to follow the Article 41.

79. Divisions in the Executive are decided by the majority of votes.

80. The Executive cannot, upon any pretext,

or in any case, undertake negotiations or conclude treaties dangerous to the national independence. In the event of this being attempted, the President becomes stripped of his office, and is judged and condemned according to Article 45.

81. The Executive Power is to propose a law on the uniform of the land and sea forces, and of the different public officers and functionaries.

82. It is in like manner to propose a bill, suited to the existing resources of Greece, on the pay of the army, and the salaries of all employés.

Section VIII.

83. As soon as an accusation against one of the members of the Executive is received, the accused is considered stripped of his office, and his trial begins according to the provisions of Article 52.

84. No member of the Executive can be imprisoned before his suspension. As often as, either by deprivation, or by the absence of a

member, the votes shall be equal, the side with which the President votes, carries it.

85. As soon as an accusation against the Secretaries of State is admitted, they are held to be dismissed, and are judged according to Article *53*.

86. For the punishment of crimes of high treason, the Executive may, in case of necessity, establish in the city where the Government is sitting, a special commission, with power to judge and condemn without appeal, till the period when the Supreme Tribunal shall be established.

CHAPTER V.

Section IX.

Of the Judicial Power.

87. The Judicial Power is independent of the two others.

88. It is formed of eleven members, chosen

by the Government, and who choose their President.

89. Justice shall be administered by Tribunals, which are to be shortly named by a special law.

90. The jurisdiction of each Tribunal, as well as the forms and the mode of proceeding, will be determined by the same law.

91. The Judicial Organization will have for its basis the five following clauses:

92. A Supreme Tribunal shall be established at the seat of Government, and shall decide without appeal in all political and criminal causes.

93. At the respective seats of the Provincial Governments, wherever are established the Gerousiæ, the Areopagus, &c. there shall be established similar Tribunals, but from whose decisions there shall be an appeal to the Supreme Tribunal of State.

94. Every Province besides shall have a Central Tribunal, from whose decisions an appeal shall lie to the High Court of Justice. But the Provincial Tribunals cannot judge in criminal cases.

95. There shall be in the principal town of each Commune, a Justice of the Peace, who shall decide in all cases, where the litigation does not regard a sum above a hundred piastres, and shall employ himself in attempting generally to reconcile the disputes of the citizens.

96. The conduct of the Justices of the Peace may be controlled by the Provincial Tribunals; as these last are to be superintended by the Tribunals of the separate Governments, and these again by the Supreme Tribunal of State.

97. The Executive Power will assemble a commission of citizens, well known for their information and patriotism, and will direct them to overlook the system of the civil, criminal, and commercial legislation of Greece, in order to submit it for the approbation of the constituted authority.

98. Till these codes are published, civil and criminal justice will be regulated according to the legislation of the Greek Emperors, and the acts promulgated by the constituted authority. With respect to commercial affairs, the French

commercial code will alone have the force of law in Greece.

99. Tortures and confiscation are abolished.

100. After the definitive institution of a judicial magistrature, no individual established in Greece can be thrown into prison without the order of a competent tribunal, except in a case of flagrant offence.

APPENDIX.

101. The Gerousiæ, the Areopagus, and every local government, organized before the sitting of the national assembly, are uniformly and entirely subject to the decisions of the central Government.

102. The Government shall have provisionally, for a place of residence, the city of

But if circumstances should require its removal, it may be decreed by the Executive and Legislative Powers.

103. The national seal bears, as its symbol, Minerva, with the emblems of wisdom.

104. The national colours are blue and white.

105. The Executive Power will determine the arrangement of these colours in the banners and in the national cockade.

106. The colours of the honorary decorations and their ranks will be determined by a particular law.

107. The Government owes protection and succour to the widows and orphans of those who die in defending their country.

108. It owes recompenses to distinguished actions and patriotic services.

109. On the day when the sacred cause shall have completed its triumph, the Government will be bound to assist and indemnify all those who have sacrificed their fortune to supply the wants of their country in danger.

110. The present Constitutional Law shall be printed and circulated through Greece. The original will be preserved among the archives of the Senate.

ALEXANDER MAVROCORDATO, President of the National Assembly.

Adam Douca.
Athanasius Canacari.
Anagnostes Monarchides.
Anagnostes Œconomus.
Anagnostes Pappajannopoulo.
Anastasius An. Lidoriki.
Andreas Anargyrus.
Andreas Zaïmi.
Anthimus Gazi.
Basil N. Boudouri.
Germanus, Archbishop of Patrass.
George Enian.
George Agostoli.
George Boucouri.
George Pappakliopoulo.
George Psyllas.
Jiannaki Placoti.
Jiannouli Caramano.
Jiannoutzo Contes.
Ghica Botassi.
Gregory Constantas.
Dennis Petraki.
Dositheus, Bishop of Litza and Agrapha.
Alexander Naxius.
Alexis Zimpouropoulo.
John Logotheti.
John Orlando.
John Pappadiamantopoulo.
John Scandalides.
C. Manoli.
Cyriacus Tzica.
Constantine Sepentzi.
Lamprus Alexander.
Lamprus Naco.
Toumbasi.
Emmanuel Nicholas
Neophytus, Bishop of Talantium.
Nicholas Demetrius Lazari.
Panoutzo Notaras.
Petrobey Mavromichali.
P. Skylitzi Homer.
Polychronius Zaneto.
Spiridion Corcoumeli.
Spiridion Patoussa.
Sotiri Douro.
Sotiri Charalampi.
Ph. Boulgari.

Drossus Mansola.
Zachary Panagiotides.
Zoës Pano.
Th. Negri.
John Visoula.
John Coletti.
Photius Carapano.
Photo Bobori.
Charalampus Pappageorge.
John Mexi.
C. Cyriazi.
Christodoulus Coutzi.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE GREEKS.

DESCENDANTS of a generous and enlightened nation, witnesses of the happiness which the sacred ægis of Law secures to the civilized nations of Europe! Ye all know, that the measure of our sufferings was full. It was impossible for us any longer to bear, without being charged with cowardice and with stupidity, the cruel scourge of the Ottoman rule. Has not the Turk, during four centuries, trampling under foot reason and justice, disposed of us as his caprice prompted? We flew to arms then, in order to avenge the injuries which an insolent tyrant had heaped on our country; a tyranny, utterly unexampled, and which left far behind all the various shapes of oppression which have ever desolated and dyed with carnage the earth.

Our warfare against the Turks, far from being the effect of a seditious and jacobinical movement, or the pretext of an ambitious fac-

tion, is a national war, undertaken for the sole purpose of reconquering our rights, and securing our existence and honour. In vain did injustice, by depriving us of all securities, hope to stifle in our hearts the conviction of their necessity; as if, formed out of the vilest materials, we were condemned by nature to perpetual servitude; doomed to crouch beneath the wild sway of ferocious tyrants, who came from afar to subdue and to crush us! No; a thousand ages of prescription would not bar the sacred rights, whose creation was the work of nature herself. They were torn from us by violence; and violence, more righteously directed, may one day win them back, and hold them forth in all their reviving brilliancy to the admiration of the whole universe. In a word, they are rights which we have never ceased redemanding in the very heart of our country, by every method which occasional opportunities ever placed in our power.

Strong in these principles, and wishing to advance as the equals of the Christians of Europe, in the paths of civilization, we combine into one great war all the partial and

secret conflicts which we had long waged against the Ottoman empire. We swore to conquer, and to behold our country governed by just laws, or to disappear from the face of the earth. During ten months God has blessed our steps in this glorious but rugged road. Our arms have been often victorious, but often have they experienced resistance. We are struggling to remove the obstacles which retard our triumph. Our political organization was then deferred, and the nation, solely occupied in repelling a lasting danger, foresaw that appearance of disorder which ever follows great movements, and which only the injudicious can make a matter of reproach against us.

As soon as circumstances allowed us to think of a plan of government, we saw the Greek continent of east and west, the Peloponnesus, and the Islands, successively proceed in their organization, and prepare the way for that general constitutional system which was necessary to direct the chances of our revolution. For this purpose, the deputies of the provinces and of the Islands, being duly authorized, and

having met in a National Assembly, and after deliberately considering the state of the country, have decreed the basis and the provisional form of the Government which is to preside over the destinies of your country. This Government, founded on justice, instituted by universal consent, is now the only legitimate and national Government. The nations of Greece will then hasten to recognize it.

Two august bodies, the Executive Power and the Senate, will be at the head of the administration, supported by the Judicial Power, which will discharge its duties quite independently.

The Assembly declares to the nation, that, having completed its task, it this day dissolves itself. It is the duty of the nation to submit to the laws and the authorities which emanate from it. Grecians! but a little while since ye said, "No more slavery!" and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is concord alone which can consolidate your liberty and your independence. The Assembly offers up its prayers, that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation towards the sanc-

tuary of his eternal wisdom. Thus discerning their true interests, the magistrates, by a vigilant foresight, the people by a sincere devotion, will succeed in founding the long-desired prosperity of our common country.

Epidaurus, the 15*th of January*, 1822,
and the First Year of Independence.

DECLARATION OF BLOCKADE.

THE Greek nation is with one spontaneous movement combating tyranny. Its rights are well known. Its object is to put a stop to iniquity, at the price of great sacrifices, from which it proposes to benefit without compromising the interest of any just and moral community. Sensible of its duties, as well as of its rights, it has proclaimed its independence, and established a Government, charged to fulfil the first and to protect the second. But inasmuch as this Government can only obtain this great national object by depriving the enemy of all means of resistance, availing itself of the common law of nations and of Europe, it hereby declares in a state of blockade all the maritime posts occupied by the Turks, as well in Epirus as in the Peloponnesus, Eubœa, and Thessaly, as likewise the ports in the Ægean sea, the Sphorades and Crete, still belonging to the enemy. In consequence, if ships of any

flag whatever, after having been duly warned by the commanders of the Greek fleet, still attempt to introduce themselves into the above-mentioned places, they will be stopped, and treated according to the rules used in similar cases. The notification by Greek captains to foreign vessels shall be continued until the Government is convinced that the present declaration has reached its proper destination. The present official act shall be communicated to all the consuls of friendly powers, residing on the Greek territory.

Given at Corinth, the 31st of March, 1822.

The President of the Executive Power,

A. MAVROCORDATO.

The Secretary of State,

TH. NEGRI.

DECLARATION

TO THE CHRISTIAN POWERS.

THE great struggle in which the Greek nation is engaged, has occupied Europe, as it will the pens of historians. From the first moment, all hearts, imbued with honour and sensibility, applauded these words—"Greece is fighting for liberty." A prey to the most humiliating and harsh oppression, she excited the pity of the whole civilized world. Humanity loudly claimed the deliverance of her benefactress. Justice, prostrate before the throne of the Most High, accused those who profaned the mysteries of Christ, plundered all property, and caused the tears of the widow and the orphan to flow.

Whence comes it that European policy, far from aiding such virtuous efforts, suffers itself to be deceived as to their tendency? Whence

comes it, that an unprecedented malevolence endeavoured to calumniate the views of an oppressed nation, and to darken the brilliancy of actions which, at least, had no need of excuse? Had not the insurrection at once its reason and justification in previous oppression? Was not armed Despair the only protectress capable of redressing our wrongs? Whatever may have been the occasion on which the revolution burst forth, whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, it is proved to have been founded on the universal discontent, whose consequences were sooner or later to include all Greece in one conflagration. The Greeks were serving foreign masters, inexorable tyrants, insatiable tigers! No compact bound them to the foreign power, which, in the madness of its pride, claimed to rule them by mere brute force for ever.—The time was come, *not* to overthrow a national and respected sovereignty, for some chimera of perfectibility, but to break a sceptre of iron, to repel force by force, and to substitute immutable rights for atrocious realities. Besides, what disasters

could be feared, greater or more monstrous than those which were afflicting Candia, Epirus, and the Morea? An execrable administration was sucking the last drop of blood from the veins of the political body. The complaints of the oppressed expired before they reached the Sublime Porte, as Destiny, that merciless goddess, used to see the incense of mortals melt away before her temple of iron. Already a conversion to Mahometanism appeared the sole safe-guard to the wretched population; and what would have become of the sacred claims which the Gospel has acquired to the pious gratitude of the Greeks? Would Europe have wished to see the consummation of this gigantic act of apostacy? Would she, though proud of a Christian Holy Alliance, have sanctioned afresh the triumph of the Arabian code over Christianity, of barbarism over civilization?

We did right in taking up arms, if it was only to fall with honour; and when once begun, it was necessary to advance. The revolution, popular from its motives, became

still more so in its progress. The frightful acts of vengeance exercised on so many distinguished persons, on so many illustrious families, pointed out the abyss into which the entire nation would fall, if it had the baseness to yield. What security could it obtain against the violators of all law? It is thus that the Greeks have chosen the desperate alternative of perishing or of being delivered. And they would in fact have perished, if Providence had not hitherto vouchsafed the miracle of our successes. For the last thirteen months, God has aided the work of the righteous. They see the all-powerful hand, which created this harmonious system of worlds, laid heavily on both nations and kings, repairing the ravages of time, and distributing the compensations of ages. Greece, abandoned by the rest of the earth, with the volume of her past splendour, and her woes, and her rights, in her hand—Greece will still pursue her arduous career. Her cities sacked, her villages burnt, her population decimated, her fields ravaged, bear witness to her proud determination. Crushed by

numbers, she will yet wash out her defeats in her blood. What will be the feelings of Europe towards her? Assembled Greece has solemnly proclaimed her independence, and has given herself a Government, surrounded by national emblems, having for its first object the welfare of Greece, and not the interest of a sect. This legitimate organ of the nation has thought it due equally to itself and to the people, to lay the preceding statement before the Christian Powers. Honour and Hope will guide Grecian Constancy through the gloom of futurity. The Greeks aim at peace combined with independence, and at the political fruits of civilization. They protest beforehand against any violation of their rights, so lately purchased by the most heroic sacrifices. In a word, humanity, religion, interest, all plead in their favour. It is for the powers of Christendom to decide on this occasion, what legacy they propose bequeathing to history, and to posterity.

Given at Corinth, the 15th of April, 1822.

The members of the Central Government of Greece,

A. MAVROCORDATO, *President*,

ATHANASIUS CANACARI, *Vice-President*,

ANAGNOSTI PAPPAINNOPOULO,

JOHN ORLANDO,

JOHN LOGOTHETI.

The Secretary of State,

TH. NEGRI.

GREECE TO THE CLOSE OF 1825.

A REVIEW

OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY STATE OF GREECE,

THE

RELATIVE SITUATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

WITH RESPECT TO THE OTTOMAN,

AND THE OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS,

AND THE

PROSPECTS OF THEIR OBTAINING EMANCIPATION,

IN A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING,

&c. &c. &c.

BY

A RESIDENT AMONGST THE GREEKS.

NOTE

BY THE PUBLISHER.

THIS Letter to the Right Honourable George Canning, and the Account of Events in Greece, to the close of 1825, were communicated to the Publisher by a gentleman just returned from that interesting Country, at a time when the printing of "An Autumn in Greece" was almost completed.

The Publisher has the satisfaction of thereby presenting to the Public, the most authentic information relative to recent events. The general political sentiments, however, will not be found materially to differ from those expressed in Mr. H. Bulwer's account.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING,

&c.

SIR,

THE sympathy and interest so generally manifested throughout Europe, and particularly by the people of Great Britain, on behalf of the unfortunate inhabitants of Greece, is so intense, so natural, and so happily in unison with the noblest aspirations of our hearts, that I am induced to address to you the following Letter. It was written for the information of a friend on returning from the vicinity of the Seat of

War, which I have just for the first time left, since the commencement of the revolutionary era; and where I resided for many years previously, on terms of connexion and intimacy with the Greeks.

Encouraged by the wishes of this friend, I now give it to the Public, and, in doing so, have taken the liberty of directing it to you; because the chief Minister of England confessedly unites to the brilliancy of his genius, a generous, liberal, and exalted mind;—because he is, of all men, that particular one, whose policy and counsels may, to a greater degree, directly or indirectly, influence the destinies of an unhappy people, labouring to procure through a sea of blood and misery, not their civil rights alone, but their physical existence;—because it is important to obtain from such a man, the greatest possible degree of interest and regard, which may be compatible with the views of the Cabinet he adorns, to fix briefly

his attention on the actual state of Greece, towards considering and diminishing the almost hopeless scenes of horror, which so long have agitated, and will finally consume, that lovely and wretched land, if the hand of Providence is not in mercy extended for its aid.*

Princes, we are told, are the representatives of God; you, Sir, are Minister to the most powerful Prince on earth; and as to one whose greatest pride must ever be in ruling over freemen, to you, under every consideration, with more propriety than to any other person, may I dedictate a Letter, the object of which is, to bring the feelings of a brave and generous people into fellow-

* On the rock of Calamos, a dependency of Ithaca, were seven thousand women and children of Acarnania, who fled there to seek a temporary refuge, when the Mussulman armies advanced upon Missolonghi. What the sufferings of families so abandoned and unprovided must have been, it is easy to imagine, and needless to describe?

ship and acquaintance with an oppressed and wretched race, whose former grandeur, and whose present degradation, entitle them under the aspect whereby they are revealed to us, from the page of history, more powerfully than any other in the world, to commiseration and support;—who, after four centuries of unprecedented suffering and wrong, are now maintaining an unequal struggle to throw off a yoke more cruel and insupportable than the Creator, in his wisdom, ever yet permitted to gall the necks of human beings.

The Greeks look upon the British nation with admiration and respect: individuals belonging to it are seen every where amongst them unsparing of their fortunes, and their lives, ambitious only in promoting the advancement of their liberty and cause.

Our gold animates and circulates throughout the land; our navy is seen

along the coast facilitating, with characteristic generosity, the flight of their daughters and their wives, from the barbarous brutality of the foe.

These, Sir, and such other acts, address themselves directly to the heart; they are adapted to the understanding of the peasant, however ignorant,—of the warrior, however wild; they speak a language both intelligible and clear, without the assistance of any commentary.

This country, in short, Greece considers as the day-star of emancipation and of hope: whether expectations of such a nature are fated to be well founded or delusive, alters not, in any fashion, the intention of my Letter; for if assistance is to flow from philo-hellenic sources only, or, as they fondly flatter themselves, from a more copious and more powerful one, it will be always advantageous that the condition of the country should be known. In political

practice as in medical, it must ever be a maxim, to understand the situation of the patient before you administer relief; and if I succeed, however partially, in throwing some useful light upon the actual state of Greece, the idea of having become, in any way, instrumental to so interesting an object, will render the present occupation of my leisure by far the most desirable of my life.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
and admiring servant,

A RESIDENT AMONG THE GREEKS.

London, December 2, 1825.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE military operations of the campaign, where referred to in the following narration, as well as, generally, the relative situation of all parties, are brought down to the first of August, the date of the Author's departure from the theatre of war.

Subsequently to that period, and down to the present moment, it will not be uninteresting to notice briefly and concisely the principal events that accompanied the progress of a campaign, which, as far as the Egyptian expedition is concerned, may be considered now drawing to a close.

On the third of August a well-concerted

effort was made in Western Greece, by the Ottoman forces of Redschid Pacha, to seize upon the fortress of Missolonghi. Under cover of the darkness his army was conveniently posted two hours before day; and, at the same time, a descent being prepared from the enemy's flotilla, the assault on a preconcerted signal was simultaneously conducted with as much vigour, and perhaps more order or combination than might be expected from troops so unwillingly collected, and so heterogeneously organized.* After a contest both sanguinary and long, the Turks found themselves driven in various directions from the walls. Defeated on every point of the attack, they re-

* For the purpose of assembling a force sufficient to undertake the siege of Missolonghi, a positive order was issued under penalty of death, directing all the Mussulman inhabitants of the neighbouring Pachalics, who were capable of bearing arms, to join the besieging army within an interval of ten days, excepting only one individual from each family, who, as a special favour, had permission to remain in charge of the common property at home.

tired in confusion and dismay, leaving the defences of the fortress encumbered with their dead; and whilst retreating were followed by the garrison, who captured a proportion of artillery, and pursued him to a considerable distance from the place.

Missolonghi being victualled and furnished with the necessary stores, immediately after the assault, by a squadron detached hastily for the purpose, is now, and has been subsequently, in comparative security and rest.

With regard to Peloponnesus, no important action has occurred there; the Pacha, endeavouring to invest Napoli, was compelled to give it up, and retire on Tripolizza; and two other enterprises, where the main body of his forces were employed, were equally unfortunate. Whilst endeavouring to execute these objects, he on some occasions engaged in petty warfare with the Greeks.

No reinforcements have been received

by the African army, either from Egypt or any other quarter. It is at present unprovided with supplies; and in a recent movement, made by its commander on Neo Castro, towards maintaining his communications with a point from whence he has been always in expectation of the promised assistance of his sire, he is said to be intercepted and prevented returning to the customary head-quarters of his troops. The plague, in the mean time, is making ravages in ranks already reduced in numbers, and obliged to act on the defensive, from the system of operations adopted by the Greeks.

In short, the remains of the celebrated armament, which so largely threatened their liberties and cause, may be considered, in all human probability, on the point of falling an easy sacrifice to the rashness, perhaps, it may be called, of its leader on the one side, and the conduct so

happily persevered in by the captains in the Government of Greece; after the disastrous affair of Tricorfa had shown the improvidence of their former measures, and how unequal in consequence of it they were to contend boldly, as they should have done, with the army of the invader in the field.

And there is now every reason to expect, that the result of an expedition, from its infancy so fearfully menacing to all, will be ultimately of advantage to the cause. It has served to make soldiers of the Moreot population, and taught, by degrees, the least enterprising of revolutionary Greeks, to defeat, in desultory warfare, the most formidable warriors of the foe: it has evinced to the Captains and leaders of the people what description of operations may prove most destructive to an enemy, in a country the peasantry of which is hostile to the invader, but of

which the untrained and disunited forces are (from mismanagement), incapable of meeting their opponents on equal terms, hand to hand. And it will teach, we hope, the Executive Authority and the Government to profit by the errors of the past;—to banish the demon of Discord from their councils, a necessity already so energetically urged by the illustrious departed advocate of Greece.

London, Dec. 1, 1825.

LETTER,

&c.

Venice, 15th August, 1825.

TRIPOLIZZA, the capital of Morea, the former seat of Government, is in possession of Ibrahim Pacha,*— the most powerful and determined enemy to the liberties of Greece. He commands 15,000 men, formidable not so much from numbers, as from discipline and equipments. In the first encounter with the enemy, he had the advantage of Colocotroni, and is now, in a great measure, enabled to march upon

* Ibrahim is the favourite son to the Pacha of Egypt; he has been promised the sovereignty of Morea if he can succeed in reducing the inhabitants to obedience.

those points of the peninsula, which are apparently most deserving of his notice.

The Turkish garrisons are provisioned and reinforced; the Greek fleet is out of the way; the Government is powerless, though certainly not without money at command. The invasion of the Egyptian troops has disturbed the financial arrangements initiated for the formation of resources and revenue, and the people generally (I speak of the Morea) are more than usually disheartened; because the popular leaders have been worsted at a moment when the Government of the country, in contradiction to its wishes, was necessitated to give in to the faction of the Captains, and entrust the conduct of the war, without control, to a perverse and ignorant chieftain, entirely unqualified for the confidence reposed in him.

In Western Greece, Missolonghi, the focus of resistance and revolution, is

besieged on one side by a numerous army, and from the other it is incessantly bombarded by a squadron of the enemy's flotilla: the coast to the northward is in possession of the Turks; and the surrounding country does not yet offer sufficient means to prevent the necessary supplies from being conveyed into the camp of the besiegers. The garrison consists of about 6,000 individuals, inclusive of the citizens, who are enrolled amongst its ranks; and the Ottoman troops, under Redschid Pacha, may be supposed to form about five times the number of the besieged. From the circumstances, however, under which Oriental armies, and especially the present one has been collected, their force is ever varying and uncertain, but may be calculated at 30,000 men.

Tripolizza, which was abandoned by the Greeks on the advance of the hostile forces, as a military post, is in every way

worthless, even were the Greeks now able to cope with their enemy in the field.

The Egyptian General not only recognises any obvious merit amongst his followers, but what is more to his advantage, he takes care to avail himself of it. He is now after marching through the mountains and fastnesses of Arcadia; about to undertake the subjugation of his promised empire; to enter upon an enterprise, where two invading armies, three times numerically superior, have already failed; and, in one of which, scarce a single man succeeded in repassing the Corinthian isthmus to announce the intelligence of defeat. But these previous successes in the cause of freedom, however fortunate and true, are by no means miraculous or strange; the armies, or more properly the hordes of savages, who penetrated during the preceding years into the peninsula, were unwilling and hasty levies,

badly armed, entirely undisciplined, and impatient of restraint; they moved in an exhausted country, without magazines being established or provided on any point, and unaccompanied entirely by supplies. Whilst united in a body, they found no enemy to check their progress; but as a body, it became impossible, for any considerable period, to exist; and, consequently, in the heart of a country which was occupied by an exasperated peasantry, they broke up without having possessed either time or capability to effect a single object of importance, and were afterwards cut to pieces in search of food amongst mountainous passes and defiles, by a people who retired at first from their advance, and profited after by occasion to deal upon them unsparingly the measure of retribution and revenge.

The Greeks obtained, in this manner, triumphs as complete as unexpected; not

by any means, from their own union or strength, but merely from the imbecility and incapacity of the foe; without a single combined effort upon their part, but owing only to stupidity and ignorance—the leading features which, with both parties, have hitherto designated the prosecution of the war.

The troops of Ibrahim Pacha are, in every respect, differently composed, and approach much nearer to an European army than any other which lately has been marshalled in the East. They were drilled at leisure, and with care, by officers capable of the task; they act under a system of discipline which is absolutely enforced, and are excited to exertion by the promise of rapine and reward. They are conducted by a Prince on whom they have every reason to rely: and, whilst military stores, with a considerable quantity of provisions, have been already provided from the fleet, the

Greek navy can scarcely be expected, in its present situation, to offer effectual resistance to the arrival of such further re-inforcements as Ibrahim will naturally look to from his father, towards terminating the contest he has begun.

At the present crisis, the Government can evidently look for no other aid from Western Greece, than the indirect one presented by Missolonghi, in occupying so large a portion of the enemy's attention, and his means. Patrass, the castles of Lepanto, together with the fortresses of Modon and Neo Castro, are still in possession of their forces; and the situation of the country is, on all sides, unquestionably more critical than it ever yet has been at any period subsequent to the burning of Patrass.

These are important and unfavourable facts, which it will be useful for the reader to carry with him in the perusal of my

Letter, in order that he should learn with more precision, and from certain data only, what prospect the people have of freeing themselves from bondage, without, in his conclusions, being led away either by the reflections of a person, who, whilst his anxiety is to remain decidedly impartial, would wish to be considered as speaking on a subject, where he participates in the interest it has so generally obtained; and also to guard the reader himself from lending in unison with his feelings, a deeper and more animated colouring to Grecian prospects, than their portrait, when considered in the proper light, may rigidly entitle it to claim.

The Greeks, from a variety of circumstances which I shall subsequently mention, have not had it in their power to prevent the Egyptian army from advancing to the capital, but they did not either submit or bow down before it. The women and

children of Messenia and Arcadia, fled for shelter to the mountains and the sea, seeking an asylum from the latter amongst rocks and islets along the coast; whilst the cattle and movable property, at the same time, were conveyed away to such established recesses of security as the country could afford. The peasants, divided in small bodies, remained lurking at no great distance from the enemy, in places from whence they are awaiting a favourable moment to issue forth; and the Pacha found, generally, unroofed, but always deserted hovels, as the halting places for his men. Under such circumstances he entered into the city of Tripolizza; and in this situation, Colocotroni, elated by the success of his intrigues, and the command to which he had been so undeservedly advanced, desirous of signalizing the event by some action of importance, ventured prematurely with the other captains on offensive opera-

tions, where, as might be expected, he was worsted with considerable loss.

The object now most likely to fix the notice of a youthful warrior like Ibrahim, encouraged by success, is doubtless the fortress of Napoli di Romania, the rallying point of freedom in Morea, and at present (what it always should have been) the seat of Government and the Executive authority. He must immediately decide on undertaking the siege of Napoli, or he will be obliged definitively to give it up. Napoli is the strongest, the most interesting and most extensive fortress in the territory of Greece. If the Pacha resolves to act against it, every other object he necessarily resigns: his army, after leaving the detachments to ensure his communication, may be just numerically sufficient for the purpose.

The reduction of a place like Napoli is, to Oriental troops, at any time, most dif-

ficult; if fortunate, it must cost him a considerable loss of time; if attempted unsuccessfully, it promises, and will probably occasion, the entire destruction of his force: and should Missolonghi continue to hold out, which there is every reason from the gallantry of its garrison, and the repeated discomfiture experienced by the followers of Redschid Pacha to expect, it is very far from unlikely that the attempt upon Napoli may end in the failure of the third and most threatening attempt, which to the present moment has been levelled against the liberties of Greece.

To avoid any cavilling discussion, and come, as soon as possible, to a point, I have admitted that the siege may be undertaken without opposition or delay; and I am also, from the same motive, ready to allow that in the event of his declining to proceed there, he is equally at liberty to direct his armament upon any other parts of the

Morea; but to overrun a country is distinctly one thing, to reduce the inhabitants to obedience the Pacha may find to be another; the former is, for argument, permitted to be immediately at his will, the latter it certainly is not.

The Greeks will no longer return into bondage, nor shall we ever again see them passive Helots of the Turk:—it cannot indeed for a moment be seriously imagined by those who are acquainted with the relative position of the parties, with the spirit of extermination, and the barbarous atrocity which have so fatally distinguished the character of the war. The sword, forced by cruelty and crime into the hands of the Greek peasant, is wielded by all parties in a fashion that renders entirely impossible it should ever meet the scabbard in tranquillity or peace; it may for a moment be torn from their grasp, but for a moment only can it be:

in its stead will be substituted the poniard and the knife; and holding, as he thinks, the master key of the Morea, the Pacha may find himself at Tripolizza as far from the real conquest, or possession of the country, as he had been when his armament first landed on its shores. The Egyptian army is incapable of division, for security it must continue united; and dwindling in a mass, supplies have to reach its leader from another quarter of the globe, precarious and subject to interception, at least by land, if not by sea; an increasing and vindictive enemy is collecting adjacent to his encampment, and a houseless peasantry, for want of other occupation, (if for no better motive), incessantly on the watch to harass and distress him in every operation he is necessitated to adopt.

Ibrahim may therefore move for the present in whatever direction he thinks

fitting: how long he will be able to do so is uncertain; to the Greeks, it is only of secondary import, as long as the people are according in their hatred, as long as they observe the conduct so happily pursued by the natives of Messenia and Arcadia. Disadvantage and, perhaps, defeat, it is true they still may suffer; to the vicissitudes of war their course is always subject, but they will be temporary partial ones. To subjugate a race whose common cause is freedom, and who can only look to victory as a security for existence, as a pledge for again meeting with their families and homes, is a fearful task for any despot to embark in, whatever be his country, his influence, or views.

On some occasion, I think, it was observed, that greater exertions might be made; that more complete success ought to have followed the efforts (if united) of the Greeks, than we have yet seen attend-

ing on the course of revolutions. Before receiving any hasty impression from a surmise injurious to the feeling of the people, it may be well to examine if expectations of this nature are overrated; or if, on the contrary, they are well founded, to determine their extent, and where the blame may be considered in justice to belong.

Whilst the monuments, the history and antiquities of Greece, have been inquired into, visited and discussed, the character, and actual situation of the people are little comparatively known. Travellers, learned and intelligent, of all nations, and particularly from our own, have been for many years in the habit of visiting and even of sojourning on its shores. They went naturally warmed with the enthusiasm, and kindled by the early associations which, in the coldest breast of apathy, it can so easily and spontaneously revive. But, unluckily, those travellers found themselves

very frequently so occupied with the actions and memory of the dead, that they reflected but little on the situation and interests of the living, who, they took for granted, as they probably heard them described to be, with little difference, were a mean, an abject, and a despicable herd, unworthy of consideration or regard; and in any spare moment, stolen for observation from some favourite pursuit, the result would oftentimes unfortunately seem to authorise the ideas which were previously assumed, and determine that the Greeks were but truly depicted as liars and as rogues, endeavouring by subterfuge and trick to impose upon the careless and the unwary, whom accident had placed for a moment in the reach of extortion or deceit.

Some rapid notice of imposition in a landlord, or of knavery in a guide, have contributed a thoughtless and unbecoming

weight, in judging at large upon a people composed, as I shall endeavour to establish, of elements materially differing in themselves, and varying according to the relative position which they stood on with regard to the government of the Turk. In this manner a great deal of illiberal, and, in many instances, most unmerited invective has been generally thrown upon a nation, which should be on every account more entitled to our indulgence, than exposed to the severity of our criticism; which it must be obviously unfair to consider by the rules of morality, as rigidly applied in other countries more happy, more favoured and civilized. With regard to the Greeks, it must be ever held in mind, that if they are defective, the fault is not with them, but with their masters; that education, government, and the administration of the laws, will stamp at all times the character of the governed; and if the usual

degradation of the Greeks were tenfold greater than in reality it is, the result would be only a corresponding increased necessity for freeing themselves from a tyranny which multiplies unceasingly such incalculable misery on their heads. It has somewhere been said, that this unfortunate people are unworthy of commiseration or of aid. Admitting so heartless an absurdity a truth, it is impossible to convey more roundly and distinctly an idea of the imbecility and unfitness of a system, which reduces its subject, by administrative measures, to a state occasioning any thing like an educated man, however perverted his understanding or his views, to give utterance and existence to a sentiment in its bearing so inhuman, and in every respect so destitute of truth; and that too, in endeavouring to justify the lawless and sanguinary proceedings of the Porte, as calculated and necessary for hold-

ing a turbulent and revolutionary people in control.

The Greeks who are residing in the Ottoman dominions, on this side of the Hellespont, are separated into three classes, differing widely from each other in almost every regard: the first or the most numerous, is that which, being immediately in contact with the despot, and striving for existence under daily observation, was, in consequence, especially the object of cruelty and wrong. From these, in the day of trial, the least may be expected; they still quail at the appearance of their lord; the force of habit they have not yet learnt to put away, and they hesitate with the sword to meet the eye of him whose weapon towards them has ever been the scourge. To this feeling may certainly be placed, a proportion of the deficiency in union and action observable in certain places, though liberated at an early stage of the revolution from the pre-

sence of the foe; and a similar feeling may retard, in remoter districts, the declaration of hostility, where a smothered spirit of insurrection is awaiting an occasion to break forth.

Another cause which impedes the revolution from extending more rapidly in the land, is, a natural solicitude for the safety of their families. Under the circumstances of the times, the females are considered, by the Turks, as a principal security for the conduct of the males. In the neighbourhood of the coast, they fly with more facility to the Islands, or conceal themselves, at least, amongst caverns and rocks upon the shore. In mountainous regions, with their cattle, they seek for an asylum in the darkness of the forest; they are guarded in the caves, or among precipices of difficult approach, by a number of their friends: but in the extensive plains and interior of the country, this cannot so easily be done. With

the Islands or the coast, their communication is very limited, and their knowledge is but small; supplying the wants of a family divided in this manner is difficult to the rich, and absolutely impossible to the poor; besides, under almost any circumstances, they are disinclined to part from, and leave their relatives at a distance, in the power of strangers and uncertain of their fate. It would be in every country an impediment to action, but in the East, where females are secluded and shut up, it may be easily imagined how strong is the aversion to violating a custom which is intimately interwoven with the habits and prejudices of the land. They have had frequent examples too, of the exterminating vengeance with which any premature rising has been visited by the Turks: the blamè, in my opinion, is far from being entirely with them. Where partial insurrection has hitherto appeared, no

prospect was ever given of permanent support, no regular force was seen advancing to cover a portion of the country, to lend the peasantry a prospect of protection, along with an opportunity of earnestly entering with confidence and spirit in the cause.

The picture of this order of inhabitants is a distressing, but equally a true one; it establishes nothing but our weakness, and how incumbent it is in free men to guard and to appreciate the possessions they enjoy: it is no failing peculiar to the Greeks. Were it possible that Englishmen should remain subject for centuries to the sway of a despot, whose passions were his laws, high-minded, liberal and daring as they are, they would dwindle to the despicable condition of a race, which some man, in his humanity, has said to be unworthy of consideration or regard.

In the second class I reckon the in-

habitants of the Islands, and those other societies or bands upon the main land, who, like the Mainotes, by tributary payment, admitted merely the power of the Sultan, without any further interference from his Government, or lending obedience to his will;—who acknowledged the authority of their own Chieftains, their customs, and their laws. By these men much has already been accomplished, and with them, if properly directed, there is scarcely any thing that may not be achieved.

In some of the Islands, the Turks, from custom and precaution, are in the habit of maintaining both fortresses and troops; in others they do not; but in all, being isolated and oftentimes prevented from receiving aid for considerable intervals, they were consequently compelled to relax, and the rod of power was wielded there with comparative mildness and ease. This, united

to the independence, and the enterprize so inseparably connected with seafaring pursuits, have promised to their country, from the Islanders, the most flattering success.

It would be useless to enter into, and endless to recount, the almost romantic and chivalrous exploits of these men: let it suffice to observe, that with a fleet of merchant ships, equipped and armed as circumstances would permit, abandoning their customary livelihood, unpaid and frequently depending on Providence for provisioning their crews, they have in this manner, from the first of the Revolution, harassed and kept in check the maritime power of the Porte. In some instances, against all odds, they have fairly beaten her outright; in others, with vessels from fifty to three hundred tons burthen, they have blown up, or otherwise destroyed, both line of battle ships and frigates com-

pletely appointed for active service, and full of armed men. They have often forced the enemy to abandon his blockades; they have prevented, or retarded the supplying of his fortresses, in the greatest state of need; and nothing but the want of greater ships, and heavier guns, have hindered them from overcoming altogether the naval forces of the Turk, or confining them, which, would be equally as useful, to the limits of their ports.*

* In the preparation of fire-ships, the arrangement and composition of their materials, the Greeks are remarkably successful; and in the use of them, they are equally daring and expert, so much so, that a number of their naval victories have proceeded from the application of an engine that carried terror and destruction to the larger ships and frigates, whose artillery their little vessels could not meet. The Commander of a Greek squadron, being on board an English man-of-war, was questioned as to the method, or secret of conducting their fire-ships with so fatal a certainty on the foe: the Greek replied, placing his hand upon his heart, that the only secret he was acquainted with lay there.

From men moulded in this fashion, the country has every thing to hope; with the Government it rests only to regulate their energies, to turn them fully and fairly on the enemy in the field. The freedom of Greece, if they are properly directed, may be retarded for a short time, but it cannot be possibly subdued.

The last and remaining class of Christians are the tribes or clans who fled, at the close of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century, to the mountains, taking up their abode in fastnesses or uncultivated tracts among the snows, accessible only to persons as resolute and determined as themselves, in preference to yielding an involuntary submission to the desolating progress of the foe. During four centuries these hardy refugees may be said to have lived without respite under arms,

unceasingly occupied with plunder and revenge. Their depredations and excursions were sometimes openly conducted against the despots who lay round them, but more frequently in darkness, by stealth, and by surprise. They dwell in various regions, generally remote from each other, and the distance being added to by the difficulty of the ground, together with an aversion, under any circumstances, to act in concert, prevented intercourse or communication of any sort between the clans; so much so, that they lived in perfect ignorance of each other, as if they were divided, not by mountains but by seas.

They are not at all accustomed to protracted engagements at a distance from the places where their families reside. So long as the combat is carried on adjacent to their homes, no enterprize can offer that

they will not readily embrace. It will therefore, when found necessary to unite their operations to the movements of an army, require, in the management, both knowledge and address.

Of these warriors the character is such as their habits would imply—savage, crafty, hospitable, and bold: their passions, unbridled and ferocious, inflame at the semblance of opposition or restraint. Habituated from infancy to violence and rapine, they cannot be expected to cherish for the rights or the property of others any over-scrupulous sentiments of consideration or regard; but security and protection are obtained by asking for them openly, and, considered so, are demanded less as a favour than a right. In their territories the stranger is certain of reception, nor will he ever repent an invitation to their home. It is melancholy to think, that the

services of warriors so formed, whose element is peculiarly in privation and in strife, should be squandered in desultory marauding expeditions, instead of aiding to repossess the fortresses of the enemy, and drive him by force of arms to a distance from the field; but, until a disciplined body is co-operating in front, their successes will be precarious, and their efforts misapplied.

Under circumstances worthy of admiration, they preserved their freedom and hostility against the Turk. Whilst the ascendancy of Ottoman dominion was dreaded and was felt by the haughtiest sovereigns of Europe; whilst they condescended, for this purpose, as a political measure of necessity, to the despicable expedient of supporting a private society of knights; whilst the armies of Venice in her greatness were beaten in the lowlands at her

feet; the mountainous passes of the country remained in possession of her sons, nor have all the efforts of the Porte, at any subsequent period of its rule, been sufficient to subjugate these clans, though every experiment of corruption and of war has been practised to sweep them completely from the earth.

To prove that the cause of Greece is far from a desponding one, inasmuch as that materials of the very best description are ready and waiting for its use, it is unnecessary to go beyond the conduct so nobly and recently displayed by one of the most unfortunate and gallant of its clans.

On the death of Ali Pacha, the celebrated Vizier of Janina, in the spring of 1822, the Ottoman forces, being disposable, were instructed unexpectedly to march and exterminate the Suliotes. After some unimportant encounter of advanced posts,

the Suliotes retired; and the enemy, conducted by Hourschid Pacha, was discovered, from several directions, descending, with overwhelming numbers, an amphitheatre of mountains, which formed the bulwark, and determined, at the same time, the boundary of their vale. To hold a position against the Pacha, was evidently impossible; and to coop themselves, with their families and dependants in the castle,* besides being extremely confined and insufficient to contain them, was equally a measure of desperation, which menaced the safety of the whole.

An immediate resolution they were forced of necessity to make; and they

* The castle of Kiafa is commandingly situated above the principal village of Suli. It is the chief place of a district containing fourteen hamlets, all inhabited by the Suliotes, and scattered in different directions through the vale.

determined reluctantly on occupying the fortress or castle of Kiafa, unprovided with a single piece of ordnance; having very little food, and huddled together in the unsuitable defences of a place which could not, at any time, lend the most distant appearance of success. In this situation it was that the Suliotes arrested the progress of an army at least thirty times their number, victorious and elated with success. They maintained their post with disadvantages perhaps unprecedented in the history of the war; they stood out, without a murmur, against battery, famine, and assault; whilst under a vertical sun, without any shelter but the banner of the cross, the women and the wounded, collected together on a platform, in the centre of the fortress, were not less exposed to the artillery of the enemy than if

they had accompanied their husbands to the breach. Under these circumstances, and awaiting with anxiety the succours so confidently expected from their friends, they received an authentic information of the actions at Petta and at Placca, where the Generals Normaun and Botzari endeavouring to join, or to assist them, were successively beaten and repulsed. In such condition, after a resistance as obstinate as prolonged, their provisions were finally exhausted, and the supply of water irrecoverably cut off, nor could a single drop of that necessary element be found in the defences or limits of the fort.

It was at this moment of resistance, when the anguish of the scene had reached its height, that a spring was recollected to exist at some little distance from the walls. It lies on the declivity of the hill, concealed

amongst underwood and rocks; and the approach being at all times very difficult, it remained either unknown or neglected by the Greeks, nor had its waters at any time been used. To the advances of the enemy, which were close to it, this place was unluckily exposed; and being a matter of great moment, their attention was arrested to the spot. Under favour of the darkness it was occupied by the Turks; but at sun-rise, they were daily driven from it by the fire from the walls. To this spring, at every instant paying the forfeit of their rashness with their lives, were seen scrambling, regardless of destruction, the wives and daughters of the Suliotes, mindful only of administering relief to the wounded and combatants within; and in this manner, for a considerable time, by the heroism, the devotion, and hilarity of the women, the resistance of the castle was prolonged.

The Turkish general hesitated to renew the attack upon breaches which opened to receive him. It is said, that exasperated as he was at the opposition to his arms, he felt and acknowledged like a warrior the merits and valour of his foe. The gallantry of the Suliotes experienced its reward, and they were permitted to evacuate the castle, preserving their families, their property, and arms, on stipulation to embark in the neighbouring port of Fanări, from whence they were subsequently conveyed to the Ionian Islands, under observance of a British man-of-war,

Their native country is now divided and parcelled off to strangers, whilst they themselves, through the guidance of their leaders, are urging on the war where its dangers are most pressing. It was a detachment of Suliotes, led by the famous

Marco Botzari, which entered the Turkish camp at Carpenissi, destroying and slaughtering all before them under favour of the night, until day-light, shining on the combat, showed against countless numbers what valour and desperation can effect. The little band of Suliotes retired with the morning from a scene of action, than which none more fatal or more bloody has been brightened by its rays; but their noble chieftain was not with them; he fell whilst entering the pavilion of the Pacha, a victim to the impetuosity of his valour, in defence of his country, and her cause. And in the defences of Missolonghi, at this moment, stand the Suliotes, equally prodigal of exertion and of life in protecting a stranger city, as when contending for the preservation of the vale that gave them birth.

These, Sir, are the men of Greece; such are the exploits they perform. Can you

think they yield to their ancestors of old? I say they are not inferior to them. Travellers turn now to Thermopylæ and Marathon; the day may come when they will penetrate to cloudy Suli. Does history show one spot more worthy admiration than the little spring of water which runs beneath its walls?

In Greece, I have said, there are three classes of people. How far they may be likely to procure their freedom without the intervention of foreign aid, will be more fairly estimated by considering maturely on their power, their genius, and their character, together with that of the captains and the Government; who, in this place, may be opportunely introduced to your acquaintance, more especially the former, they being generally of the second class, and having, to the present moment, acted a very considerable part in the revo-

lutionary drama. I am, in consequence, desirous of mentioning them separately from the Islanders, or continental clans, although they properly belong to that leading order of the public, according to the method I have placed them.

The captains are uneducated and ignorant, conducting a band of followers, (unconnected with the armatoli, or militia of the country,) and exclusively devoted to their will, corresponding in number to the power of the chief, on whom they are dependant for protection and support, through the medium of violence and plunder. The fame of a captain consists in the advantage arising to his soldiers from the success of his predatory excursions and intrigues: in principle the captain is as absolute as a Turk, and oftentimes equally as cruel and unjust;—he is invariably an enemy to order and to law. Whilst in contact with the foe, he wars on him ac-

cording to his views, and, from attachment to locality, will avoid proceeding to a distance from his home. During the absence of an enemy, the captain is dangerous to his friends, because the wants of his followers become urgent, and they cannot be possibly denied. All the captains have accumulated riches, and the wealth amassed by some of them is great; nor can it easily be expected that men of such a turn will unite with operations which tend to a termination of the war, or in any measure whatever that puts a rein on the arbitrary violence of their acts. Undertakings of importance they decline; by stratagem and surprise, in partial encounters, their interest and object are pursued, where the booty without division is entirely their own.

In brief, as long as the Turkish forces hold footing in Morea, during the absence of an enemy to oppose them, the cap-

tains were useful to the cause. Afterwards their conduct assumed another aspect, it became generally baneful to the country, and every way discreditable to themselves.

By the first, or numerous class, the captains are dreaded and disliked; they have only made a figure above what their influence admits of, from a spirit restless and ambitious, with armed followers ready and resolute at their back. But they are not in possession of the authority ascribed to them; they exist from the impotency of a Government ill constituted to master the difficulties of the day.

It is much owing to the captains that we have not yet seen upon the Greek horizon, one of those great master-hands, so common in the revolutionary history of other countries, to grasp the energies of the nation, and lead them, at once, with prompt and decided boldness, to the

freedom whereof it is in search. The captains are ignorant, it is true; but in Greece there are men of education as well as talent. If the policy of the former Government looked on literary attainment with criminal regard, the genius of the people did not do so; and from the seminaries of Italy, their students obtained by stealth what it was impossible in their country to procure.

During the revolutions of kingdoms advanced in civilization, extraordinary talent, if accompanied with enterprise, although otherwise destitute of influence or weight, is certain of arresting the notice of the public, and ascending to a post becoming the endowment and ambition of the holder.

In Greece, the ablest man of Europe might be neglected and unknown; he would be probably silenced, if not bullied, by the swaggering emptiness of a cap-

tain, except he could exceed him in followers and force. Of this, Prince Mavrocordato affords an illustrious example,—a man uniting the advantages of exalted birth to a finished education; a statesman of unquestionable talent, and, better still, a true lover of his country. Mavrocordato, notwithstanding, remained long an object of misrepresentation and cabal; and, finally, the integrity and devotion of his conduct have established him only as a member of a powerless Administration, instead of being, unshackled, the leader of the State.

With regard to the present conformation of the Government, it has merely the shadow of authority, being destitute of power to enforce the acts which emanate from the legislative body, or itself, should they happen to contravene the wishes of a party conducted by this chieftain, or by that. By the Loan it was expected this

abject condition would have been altered, and the Government placed upon a footing becoming the country and itself.

Those people who are conversant with the interests of Greece, will readily allow that the embodying an army, the formation of revenue, with the re-organization of the marine, were the points vitally and immediately important to the welfare of the cause; all other considerations are but secondary; they would naturally be resolved upon in due time, when the destruction of the enemy was accomplished, or at least when his presence was removed.

Instead of establishing an army, and inviting officers of experience to enter into its ranks, they continued the argument upon constitution and on laws; they lost their time upon topics unconnected with driving the enemy away, and with the possessing themselves of fortresses, the report of whose artillery was almost within hearing from

their chamber of debate. A disciplined force, at disposal of the Executive, would have reduced the captains to submission, and their authority to bounds, if unruly: a severe and a salutary example would have terrified the factious, establishing an obedience to order and to rule; their bands would have been broken up, and have furnished useful soldiers to the national army of the country, instead of being lawless brigands, as they now are, a scourge and a disgrace to it. There is no place where troops can be collected with more rapidity, and maintained with less expense; the material is all ready, and the quality is good. A large portion of the population is trained to arms from its boyhood; its life an uninterrupted one of privation and of enterprise; and all classes have been accustomed, since the commencement of insurrection, to greater hardships in desultory warfare, or in avoiding it, than are commonly attendant upon

soldiers when assembled and regularly provided for entering upon active operations in the field.

It would have empowered the Executive not only to subdue domestic discord, the greatest bane of action, but to undertake what eventually it must do—an offensive warfare beyond the limits of liberated Greece, and given to the provinces, whose revolutionary spirit is restrained, an occasion to break out; and lent to it at the same time both opportunity and force for applying with efficiency to the favourite object—the perfection of the marine. To contend with advantage on the sea, it is necessary that commands should first be obeyed upon the land: this, in the recent equipment or provision for the navy, was not sufficiently considered. One member of the Government, and the most powerful, is an islander: it was natural that those who fought unrewarded, so bravely and

so long, should have a competent gratification, were it possible to grant it. But the Government, or its leaders, having once adopted, in my opinion, the false maxim of turning exclusively their money and their cares to the appointment of a fleet, should have held in recollection, that it is not in the power of small vessels, like those at their disposal, to prevent armies from disembarking, or fortresses from being supplied; and that, however annoying they may have been to the enemy, from the gallantry and conduct of their crews, that they cannot with certainty prevent the Turkish Admiral from carrying into effect any project whereon he is resolutely fixed; and as the English Loan must be appropriated rather to the formation of a navy than an army, they should have provided larger ships, and heavier guns, to give the islanders a chance of meeting their old enemy on terms that

offered some rational and well-founded prospect of success.

After the Egyptian troops were landed and marching to Tripolizza, the error was discovered by the Government being destitute of any means for self-defence. We are told that a general rising of the people was looked for with some confidence by the Executive Authority; and that the captains being united, or not distant from each other, would make a powerful effort to arrest them upon their route.

With regard to the people, allowing the expectation a well-founded and a just one, it is somewhat unreasonable to suppose that they could stop the progress of an army so formidable and strong. The excitements of enthusiasm and patriotism are excellent assistants; they are admirable sentiments when supported by discipline and bayonets; without them they may harass. but cannot certainly arrest the course of

trained and armed soldiers habituated to act in concert at the sound of a single voice: on the other hand, the captains, aware of their advantage and importance, kept cautiously away; they gave no promise of assistance, until Government was reduced to the mortifying predicament of yielding to the faction it so long and so impotently opposed; and Colocotroni, the principal fomenter of dissension, was vested with unlimited military rule.

In speaking of the Government, I would wish to be understood as not intending a reflection of any kind upon its members: Mavrocordato himself is one of them; so is also Conduriotti; and several of the others are entitled to consideration and esteem. What I object to is not the men who form but the Government itself, because I think it little calculated for the exigencies of the times.

Greece, in my opinion, wants an execu-

tive power only; and the fewer hands it is confided to, the better for her cause. If she is to go rapidly along to the realization of her hopes, it ought to be entrusted even decidedly to one: and he, to facilitate the general advantage, should be in the enjoyment of authority supreme: he should possess the power of Dictator, to the utmost extent of the word.

Situate as men and matters are in Greece, there is nothing half so dangerous as indecision and delay. Whilst councils are deliberating, the people lose confidence, the enemy gain time, and the cause is imminently in danger of being lost; it is even better at present to commit an error there with promptitude and boldness, than to keep wavering and disputing on the adoption of another course. Decision in insurrectionary proceedings is the first, the most useful quality of the mind; if it alone is wanting, the vacuum cannot be easily

filled up, and the opinion of the public is irrecoverably withdrawn.

The granting an absolute control to a single individual is that which, in another situation, I perhaps would neither approve of nor advise; but the slaves of circumstances we are, and ever must remain.

Greece, in throwing off her bondage, has need of a conductor who is equal to unite together and profit by the variety of elements whereof her population is so heterogeneously composed; to give a proper bias to and turn against the enemy the working of those passions and those powers, which have been hitherto fomented by weakness and misrule; and if success is destined to crown the efforts of her sons, she still has more occasion for the exercise of his influence and aid. A nation emerging suddenly from whole centuries of slavery is not capable at once of plunging with any

safety to the opposite extreme: the light of Liberty, like other lights, must be gradual in advancing; if otherwise, it will dazzle, and possibly may blind. Were Greece to-morrow free from her Ottoman invaders, with the theoretical and proffered constitution of this party or of that, it would not continue in existence half a year; and, after countless sufferings, the country would find itself involved in the horrors of civil discord and the misery of war. There is no person who fears more sensibly than I do the unnecessary assumption of power or command; and, fully impressed with this sentiment, I declare, were I a Greek, I should not hesitate a moment in allowing unqualified authority to any man whose character and genius held out any certain promise to the public expectation of employing them to the general advantage of the cause.

One other point, and not certainly a

less important one, is the creation of a revenue. Without a regular system of finance, they can neither supply permanently the military establishments of the country, nor pay for the pecuniary assistance which even yet may be probably required from abroad, before any material sum of money shall be raised from such imposts as appear to them most prudent to put on. With respect to the Morea, until its fortresses are won, no calculation can be made on considerable receipts. The application of the relative measures of finance will necessarily bring with them innovation and expense, and are liable to objection not within my limits at present to detail; but, from a review of which, I cannot help concluding, that the revenue, as a temporary expedient, might be farmed, in preference to becoming, as the country is now situated, an object of attention and governative care. That farmers are con-

sidered as public robbers, I admit; and impolitic ones too; because, under the shade of power, they lean upon the people. The measure, I know, is a defective one, and consequently suggested for the exigency only of the times. In Greece, *collectors* of revenue would be equally dishonest as the farmers; besides being infinitely more numerous, and all requiring pay.

In fact, there is no channel whereby the customs of Greece will find their way into the treasury; it is out of the nature of things for a long time, without being a source of peculation and deceit.

The farming system, in Greece, has the advantage of being known; it is the ordinary practice of the Pachas and authorities on the coast; all the ports and *scale* in the vicinity of Parga were recently rented by a Jew.

And to Greece, as she is now circumstanced, having negotiated the Loan, there

will be no difficulty whatever in disposing of her revenue to individuals possessing both character and means: in this manner, the Government would exactly ascertain the amount of money at its disposal for the service of the year, and be unembarrassed with any extraordinary inquietude or cares, except those more immediately concerning the prosecution of the war.

It is unlucky for the Greeks that they are at all in want of money; the error and suspicion of Ali Pacha, the celebrated despot, equally fatal to him and unfortunate for them, prevented the Greek nation benefiting by the treasure he possessed.

At that particular period, when the numerous forces of the Sultan, assembled expressly under Hourshid Pacha, for the destruction of a vassal, whose existence became every day more menacing to his lord, were pressing closely upon Ali, no longer able to keep the field, two courses offered

to shield him from his wrath. One was a half measure, timid and compromising, to enclose himself with his followers at Janina, in the fortified islands of his lake, and abide by the consequences of bribery, submission, or finally of war. The other, assimilated to the energy and decision of his younger days, to abjure at once his faith, (he was never over-scrupulous); to throw himself and all his riches into the arms of the Greek people, who, in every direction, ripe for revolution, would have crowded to his standard, and fought with them the cause of freedom against a sovereign hateful to him, and now resolved upon his fall. To this determination he was urged by his counsellor and companion, Odysseus,* who was thoroughly ac-

* Odysseus, one of the most considerable of the captains, and who, in the earlier invasions of the Morea, had rendered himself conspicuous by activity and zeal; his conduct appeared, in some recent in-

quainted with the tone of public feeling; but avarice and suspicion, the failings of old age, in the mind of Ali were too potent: he feared to trust the Greeks with wealth which had been ravished from them by a reign of cruelty and guilt; he doubted whilst the enemy pressed on him, —the die was cast, and he forfeited the fairest prospects of a diadem, to encage himself amongst the ill contrived defences of his lakes; where, soon after, he was abandoned by Odysseus to his fate. The treasures of the Pacha, the amount of which

stances ambiguous; by his rivals, at least, he was stated to have been intriguing with the Turk. He fell, at night, in endeavouring to escape from the Acropolis of Athens; the ropes were cut by accident or design, whilst lowering himself from the walls, and he was (it is stated) dashed to pieces on the spot; some confidential followers, together with his family and wealth, remain concealed in the caves of Mount Parnassus, where they are guarded by a companion of Lord Byron's, Mr. T———, who, married a little previously, a sister of this chief.

neither he nor any other person knew, were thrown, by this unfortunate fatality, into the possession of the Turks.

Ali himself was too far gone to have taken any active part in the conduct of the war; but his rank, united to the wondrous weight of his character and name, would have ensured extraordinary advantage to the early cause of Greece. Had he made his battle with her, a common one, they would have revolutionized the country to the gates of the Sultan's palace: his life might have closed in the natural course, for the first time doing good, and his sons instead of the bow-string, would have inherited a sceptre.

These, however, were not the only points in which the infant cause of Greece was prematurely destined to taste the bitterness of excited and disappointed hope; a sunbeam much more vivifying shone brightly, for a moment only, on the dawn of her ex-

ertions, to be snatched away as suddenly, and shrouded for ever in the darkness of the tomb. The eloquent assertor of civil liberty, the great poet and genius of the age, the noble Byron, had dedicated exclusively his person, his fortunes, and the wonderful powers of his mind, to the service of her sons; nor have we any rule whereby to measure the benefit, which the influence of his presence, and the exercise of his talents would have had in urging the advancement of their freedom, and their cause.

The resolution of Lord Byron to embark in the cause of Greece, and his subsequent arrival in that country, were scarcely heard in Europe, when a host of travellers, speculators, men of all fortunes and descriptions, came hastening across the continent to its shores, enjoying the brilliant example offered in the person of his Lordship; anxious only to emulate each other in for-

warding his views, and to adapt themselves to the measures which, in conformity with his counsels and assistance, it was expected the Greek Government would immediately adopt.

Amongst our own countrymen, as well as the other foreigners engaged in this interesting project, not one would have been found either able or desirous to compete with, or oppose him, in the effectuation of his plans; but, on the contrary, all, in the ascendancy of his genius, recognized the master hand, and main spring, which might lead the nation on with confidence to the realization of its hopes.

With respect to the people of Greece themselves; their feelings of enthusiastic satisfaction, it is entirely impossible to convey. In his former visits to their country and the Islands he was personally known, his generosity on all occasions, with his recent assistance to the fleet and refugees,

added still to the impression and power of his name: but the claims of Lord Byron upon their love and admiration were both multiplied and various; independent of the peculiar qualities which made his acquisition of primary importance to the cause, he possessed from other sources the hearts and the confidence of all. If in Greece, as in every place of Europe, the fame of his attainments was generally known, and universally admired; it was in Greece only that they produced him a considerable degree of affection and personal regard. They there considered him entirely their own, the peculiar poet of the country, the recorder of its sufferings, its loveliness and its wrongs; and in the eloquent narrator of her former deeds of glory, in the mourner over her present degradation, and the greatness of her fall, she saw the fearless and powerful champion of her rights, who promised to open to her sons, with the resistless pow-

ers he so easily could wield, an opportunity for emulating their ancestors of old, and of proving to the world, that amongst the descendants of the Greeks are men still worthy of inheriting the liberty they claim.

Under circumstances so likely to call popular feeling into play, Lord Byron, when residing in the Ionian Islands, from all quarters received the most urgent and repeated invitations, to hasten his resolution, and appear among the Greeks. One ship of war was dispatched after another, and kept cruising, for this purpose, in the channel of Cephalonia; and his reception at Missolonghi presented, subsequently, a scene that I am very far from possessing the power to describe, but which afforded to him, unquestionably, the noblest gratification that man, in the benevolence of his nature, is capable of enjoying.

What precise effect such demonstrations of enthusiasm and regard, (not more novel

on the shores of Etolia, than the source from which they originated was exhilarating and pure) must have had upon a mind so delicately sensible as his lordship's, it is neither easy or needful to divine; and whether to the philanthropic motives which induced him to embrace the cause of Liberty in Greece, there were united from that moment ideas more ambitious in their bearing, is now of little import; be this matter as it may, one thing at least is certain, that, as the latest act of his existence was confessedly the most noble and exalted one, so it offered to his acceptance a career of glory more desirable, than has yet fallen to the option of I believe, any other man.

On debating the situation of the Greeks, the grounds whereon they may look for assistance from abroad, the legitimacy of the Ottoman Government, and its right, in common with other powers, of suppressing unmolested, the resistance of subjects in

rebellion; certain arguments have been used, and inferences made, that seem in all cases injurious to their interests, and in most of them unjust. These arguments, in themselves, where accompanied with a reasonable semblance, are only so abstractedly, but by no means can they be considered as fairly and generally bearing on the point.

It has been, also, endeavoured to misrepresent the cause of Greece, by confounding her struggles and exertions with the variety of disturbances which so lately have agitated the heart of Europe to its core; to reduce it to the standard of attempted revolutions in the extensive peninsulas of Italy, and Spain.

Without at all entering into a scrutiny of cases already determined or decided by the sword, it may not be superfluous more generally to observe, that, as the condition of the Greek people is materially at variance with that of any other of

which we are informed, so also, as a consequence, is the motive which now places them an object of interest and commiseration to mankind in every station and quarter of the globe. With reference to the countries I have mentioned, a partial advancement upon liberty (in comparison I mean to that of Greece), acts, considered by the Government as precautionary and salutary, by the governed as dangerous and wrong; not wresting from them entirely the privileges whereof they were formerly possessed, but removing the people some steps further from that weight and estimation which they supposed themselves entitled to enjoy, was sufficient to put the multitude at issue with its rulers, and drive the people to take up arms, the only remedy left them for defence.—With the Greeks it is not so; the obligation which forces that nation to extremes, is so prominently marked, so conspicuously designated by folly and by

the obligation which forces that nation to extremes, is so marked, so conspicuously designated by folly and by crime, as to exhibit them to the universe, a sad and solitary example of the restlessness resulting from power without limits, and passion without rule.

The Greeks, at least, cannot certainly be thought to contend about imaginary evil. No man will be found so hardened and unfeeling, as to say that the tenderest connexions of private life are not entitled to consideration and respect; that the provision, accumulated by years of labour for the maintenance of children, should be ravished unfeelingly from the death-grasp of their sire; that his religion should not be free from insult, his altars from violation, or his neck from the headman's stroke; that he is exorbitant in requiring for the chastity of his daughters, and the honour of

his sons, some more satisfactory assurance than the reckless lust of a barbarous delegate of power can allow.

To detail the quantity of misery which was heaped upon the Greeks, would be endless; but it will present itself, more readily than I can do, to the imagination of any one who ponders on the system of Mahometan misgovernment, the extent of power confided to provincial despots of every description, and the way in which this power is afterwards partitioned and retailed to the subaltern authorities and blood-suckers; whose office and whose interest depend on their measure of extortion, on their capability of supplying to the vultures by whom they are continued in employ.

That the Greek nation is not only warranted, but in duty imperatively bound, to take up arms, seems indeed so very

evidently shown, that to unaccountable perversity we must ascribe the weak and despicable efforts occasionally made to vilify and decry it.

The general opinion, however, upon this subject, has been universally and triumphantly declared; the resources and assistance, from individuals or societies, which are every day offered to it, from the new, as well as the old world, from men of all opinions, countries, stations, and persuasions, whilst they lend to it a testimony undeniable, will show at the same time to future ages, on referring to the transactions of the present, — that, however deaf the cabinets of Europe were to the calls of humanity and justice, however their councils were governed by selfishness and pride, it was not a spirit conforming to the temper of the times, but manifestly opposed to it in every respect.

The legitimacy and integrity of the Ottoman Government must be respected; "the sword, we are told, whereby it acquired the empire of the East, is as valid a title for command as that by which many of our sovereigns have inherited their thrones." The sword I will admit to be as good an original title for command as the majority of governments may wish; but it is certainly both an unqualifying, and a dangerous medium to support it. Although to the Greeks, or to any other nation, it matters very little whether, four centuries ago, a foreign power occupied their country, or a foreign dynasty succeeded to the crown, by revolution, by popular election, or by force; yet the subsequent policy and measures of its descendants is to them interesting in every degree.

The Greeks, contemplating their political state, discover no feature in it for

gratitude or love. They see nothing to call for an acknowledgment of legitimacy, as legitimacy consists in a sovereign ruling over, and promoting, by administrative measures, the interest and welfare of the subject: but if, on the contrary, the meaning of it be solved into an infliction on humanity, of the heaviest load of wretchedness which either its nature or patience could endure, that is a solution, we sincerely hope, that neither Greeks nor any other people will recognize, or understand.

In conformity with such a feeling, and considering the Ottoman Government decidedly illegitimate, or rather, considering only the perpetration of its enormity and guilt, the Greek people are finally assembled under arms. No middle course is left for them to steer; they must either succeed in, or be victims to their cause. Let us hope that somewhat more than the

aspirations of their fellow-men, will attend them, in so unequal a contest, to the field.

With respect, more especially, to the foreign relations of the Porte, and the light in which the legitimacy and integrity of Mahometan dominion might be viewed by the courts or the cabinets of Europe; I shall, in the first instance, willingly admit that to prevent the aggrandizement of one kingdom, for general security it is right that no state should be permitted to interfere with the domestic disturbances of its neighbour, either in favour of one party or the other: and although, when a government is at issue with its subjects, it is probable the latter may be right, the quarrel is always a *family* one, where the presence of a stranger is intrusive — where he may be dangerous, but cannot be fitting, as an umpire to decide. This is a principle corresponding

to the law of nations, and appears of so much interest and importance to maintain, that on no account should it be swerved from; except indeed in some extraordinary case, such as the annals of history for the first time, in the condition of the Greek people, present to our view, where the combination of circumstances is so peculiarly unfortunate, the precedent so uncommon, and the injustice so notorious and crying, as not to lead to evil consequences, and not to lend a colouring to subsequent exception or abuse.

I myself am always hostile to the violation of a rule, which considerations like the foregoing could alone induce me to give up; but however I, or others, may be wedded to certain principles, very happily for the Greeks, those Powers who could help them, are not prevented doing so by any obstacle of this sort, by any such real or imaginary restraint.

To the members of the Holy Alliance* cannot, certainly, be attributed an extraordinary delicacy, or over-scrupulous regard, as to interfering in the contentions between princes and their people, which would, in the present instance, tend to debar the facility of interposing their mediation and their aid, in favour of humanity and right.

Nor shall we find any writer so hardy as to aver that, if an active interest were taken upon our question, their principles would lead them another way—to support the Turkish Government against its victims of misrule; on the contrary, they may, or ought, to be expected eagerly to embrace

* In speaking of the Holy Alliance, no allusion of course is made to England; a variety of incidents, and more especially the sentiments expressed by Mr. Canning in the House of Commons, on the recent violation of the Spanish territory, draw a distinct line of policy and opinion between us, and our Allies of the Continent.

an occasion, not more lucky than well timed, to wipe away a portion of the obloquy impressed by the nature and recollection of their acts.

How much more prepossessing a figure would a member of the Bourbon family, once determined on military glory, have presented, by fording the Danube with the Greeks, than in crossing the Pyrenees against the Spaniards; how much greater a chance would he, and his allies, have had of establishing their power, with the esteem at least, if not with the affection of their subjects,—by a readiness to support the sacred cause of justice, of religion and humanity, instead of vainly intriguing and caballing amongst themselves, for the purpose of applying to the present age the maxims of government that might have been calculated for the darker or the feudal ages.

Why a similar infatuation can be con-

fined to, and so generally exist, among the potentates of Europe, it is difficult to divine. In Russia only, for the present, can such maxims with safety be exercised or used; but the yoke which may be fitted to those uneducated barbarians of the North, cannot, surely, be transferred to the more enlightened sons of the Adige, the Ebro, or the Po. By the advance of civilization must every thing be ruled: to governments, and their acts, it lends the form and the tone; and to struggle with it, is erecting a mound against a river, of which the copious waters are increasing and the source is never dry.

In reference to the impropriety) but I shall call it madness) of warring with individuals, or nations, on account purely of theological disputes, or their religious differences or views,—of course I decidedly agree, the abettor of a religious persecution is a miscreant, required, by the inter-

ests of society, to be hunted to a distance from its pale. As long as our sentiments or conduct are innoxious, we have all, equally, a right to meet with toleration, and be treated with respect. And here it is the Greeks have had turned against them, the argument and arms that contribute essentially to their protection and defence.

The Mussulman creed is the only one I know of, recognizing religious persecution as an article of faith; enjoining the injury and destruction of the Christians, as an act meritorious and pleasing unto God. In religious, as with other theories, certain dogmas may have been originally prescribed, of which the practice, becoming offensive or imprudent, has been permitted insensibly to lie dormant; but the view in which we have been regarded by the followers of Mahomet, a dark one, impervious entirely to sunshine or to

change. And to prove how perfectly their habits are in unison with their precepts, cast your eyes upon the misery and the picture of the people; look for a moment only on their devastated and depopulated land! A principle this, the more obnoxious and pernicious, because it does not depend, like most things under an arbitrary Government, on the will of the tyrant of to-day nor the influence of the favourite of to-morrow,—but remains inevitable and unmoved, a sentiment originating with the earliest impressions, and nourished by the most powerful sensations which combat in the breast.

The Turks do, and ever must, act towards whatever Christians may be subjected to their bonds, in the manner they are acting to the Greek. From duty, as well as inclination, they are waging an eternal war on us: they are the aggressors, we are the aggrieved: and, putting aside

entirely the claims and the sacred cause of Greece, we, or any other power, are always permitted to act in our defence, by extending the hand of salvation and mercy to a country polluted by centuries of infamy, and devastated, deliberately, by crime.

If, from a review of the actual position of the Greeks, so prominently and powerfully obtruded on our sight, it may not be easy to discover, that the Osmanlis administration is worthy of favourable notice or regard; it may be well to turn over the records of the past, and learn if the annals of History, in remoter days, would tend to confirm the opinions we have formed; or, on the contrary, lend to the Mahometan dynasty a right to continue untroubled in its rule over countries, the dominion of which has been so improvidently and wantonly abused.

The Mahometans were seduced to pass

from Asia into Europe, and overleap the boundaries which Nature seemed to give them, by a resolute intention of subverting Christianity, by an anxious thirst of conquest, and desire for revenge. In the minor objects of this celebrated invasion they succeeded, wreaking ample vengeance on the victims of the day, and reserving four centuries of their offspring for every species of suffering and woe:—in the more momentous purpose of incursion, success did not, indeed, equally smile upon their arms. But the want of power only, and not of inclination, saved the civilized world from being again plunged by those eastern barbarians into a second night of darkness more dreadful and dangerous than the first; and, after an obstinate continuance of struggles, not less sanguinary than menacing and bold, their cherished projects were for the moment given up, and they retired unwillingly,

to watch, in the capital of Greece, another opportunity for elevating the Crescent by the downfal of the Cross.

On the outset of invasion, when the Ottoman forces first humbled the pride of Venice, besieged the capital of the Cæsars, and threatened the extremities of Europe with desolation and dismay; the confederations of those times, no doubt as holy, and at least, in their principles, as scrupulous as the present, had they been only gifted with ability, would never have baulked at a justification or pretext for banishing the infidels and driving them from hence. But circumstances, with times, assumed speedily a change: the continental sovereigns ceased to fear; and to the Turk, as a mark of gratitude for benignant inclinations and designs, as an expiatory offering for our former opposition to his will—were left generously, and good-naturedly, the sons and daughters of poor

Greece, to satiate his disappointment, his cruelty, and his rage!

For what motive, on what principle do we, with the vaunted morality of Christians, act with far more cruelty, and less honour than the Turks? And why is Greece to be, endlessly, the sacrifice of fighting our own battle, and following our faith? The same causes, nearly, which took crusaders into Asia, brought Mahomedans to Europe: they all pursued us, whilst there, unceasingly with fire and sword; they warred against us even with the dagger and the knife, until, beaten and discomfited, the shattered victims of princely folly and papal pride returned, half naked and famished, to their homes; or dragged in chains a life of slavery, the butt and ridicule of those whose country they sought to make the theatre of religious discord and of war.

Nor did they leave us a single lurking-

place in their territories, to hatch new plots in,—no particular class of people to tyrannize over for centuries, as we do to them in ours. They conceived, on the contrary, their cause (as it was) a common one, an invasion of Christians upon the followers of Mahomet; and treated without distinction, on equal terms, every adventurer amongst us, whether sprung from the soil of England, from Italy, or from France.

Treasuring carefully in memory a remembrance of the past, they in turn entered Europe, and their first attempt was levelled against the liberty of Greece; not because it was Greece only, or the sole point of their ambition, but the highway, and the passage to it. The Greeks fought the general battle, and sunk under it; and when the enemy, pursuing an uninterrupted course of conquest into the very heart of Europe, at last were foiled by the united armies of the Austrians and Poles; when

it became evident that the subversion of Christianity was, at least for the present, a scheme beyond their reach :—the same selfish, unthinking policy, which allowed them singly to overcome the Greeks, continued those fierce invaders afterwards in possession of their land; which is now again, and we will hope for the last time, the subject of contention and strife. The long-looked-for epoch must be finally arrived, when the descendants of those who cherished liberty as we do, and who lost it in our cause—who handed down to us the purest lessons of philosophy, and the finest models of the arts, should cease to be a sacrifice to jealousy and fear, to the meditated aggrandizement of this power or of that.

Let the Sultans claim (and with shame be it admitted) that they were tolerated for centuries in governing over Greece; let them lay every stress on the legitimacy

and integrity of a rule, obtained and administered as theirs is, which the sophistical reasoning of prostituted talent and venality can advocate or invent; they will not obscure an argument founded on humanity and justice, relying upon religion and on truth; where the opinion of the public is determined,—an opinion proceeding from reflection and research, and which, when unanimously given, is, of all verdicts in the world, least liable to error or to wrong.

It was not supposed by the illustrious departed advocate of Greece, that she would receive much positive assistance from any of her neighbours; nor indeed did he esteem it advisable that she should—

> "Look not for aid unto the Franks,
> They have a king who *buys* and sells;
> Go seek it in your native ranks,
> Where faith and honour ever dwells."
>
> BYRON, *See Giaour.*

Through the powers with which Greece

is by locality connected, but little could be hoped, in the contest for her freedom. The narrow policy of Russia, and the cruelty of her past conduct, were notoriously impressed in the memory of all: nor would it be rational, in the recovery of liberty, to look for succour from an Empire, of which the subjects are themselves in a wretched state of thraldom. Between Russia and Greece there is no point in common, but religion; an auxiliary as powerful, if temporal interests meet, as it is likely to be hurtful, where calculations on its parallel had excited in the weaker side ideas of assistance, that ended only in disappointment and disgust.

There are still in the Morea men, who, escaped from the massacre of its inhabitants, had been enticed by Russian offers, on the sight of Russian troops, to rise against the Porte: these men relate to their descendants how basely they were forsaken

by these armies on the advance of an exasperated enemy, whose fury they were left to appease with the murder of their families, the sacrifice of their property and lives: and which they had only drawn upon them by unlimited reliance on the faith, the sincerity, and honour of a nation, of which the religion was tricked out as an additional inducement to look to it with security for emancipation and support. Since that fatal and eventful trial, the Russian agents, however active, could never create any other feeling than suspicion and contempt. The Greeks are avowedly ignorant; but the natural talent which their masters could not ruin, would scarce allow them to hesitate, were they put to the hard condition of choosing, between the despotism of one power, and the bondage of the other. In Russia, they see a powerful Colossus; whose increasing magnitude would enable him every day to draw

his chains upon them closer; whilst, from the impotency of Ottoman administration, an occasion would continually present itself, for loosening and bursting them asunder.

From reasons pretty nearly similar, any hopes or expectations on the side of Austria, would be at least equally unwarranted and vain. The basis of her government approximates too nearly with that of her Imperial Ally; and, in the administration of the Italian provinces, a forcible and apposite example is given to the Greeks, of what might be obtained by others, whose relative situation would not entitle them to so large a share of its favourable regard.

Italy, for many reasons, and especially for being the school of the Grecian youth, is better known to Greece than any other continental country; they, in consequence, have had ample means, if they otherwise

were wanting, for knowing the condition to which its finest provinces are brought, by an unfortunate subjugation to foreign policy and force. Their countrymen are informed, that, under its paralyzing influence, the spirit and enterprise of the people are quite broken; that manufactures languish, that commerce is destroyed; that a foreign army, after ten years' peace, is still recruited by an actual conscription, a guard of infantry in the theatres, a squadron of cavalry on the walks!* Precautionary measures these, forsooth!—because the Italians have revolutionary notions, have manifested sentiments of displeasure and discontent!

Ask a Venetian, or Milanese, if Greece

* With respect to the liberty of the press; it has been recently forbidden, by an order of Government, to any Italian subject of Austria, to publish, even in a foreign country, or in a foreign language, a work of whatsoever description, without first passing through the ordeal of censorship at Vienna.

is likely to benefit from the good graces of their master? Venice, it is true, was long a falling place (falling in respect to her former grandeur), but in no way so as to authorise its present state of universal dilapidation and decay.*

In fact, the advantages of a metropolis, which, under any thing like a liberal course of treatment, would render it by far the first of Italy, produce only a studied care to lessen and destroy them.† To

* Although Venice, like other cities, has need of considerable expenditure, is provided with a civil governor of exalted rank, and possesses a competent magistracy of its own, the revenue is hardly collected before they hurry it away to the treasury in Vienna.

With regard to the public buildings and establishments, it is even forbidden to use or mend a pane of glass, except in virtue of an order, to be procured only by continued correspondence with the Imperial capital; nor can the most trivial municipal disbursement, of any sort, be made, without an application there, and the answer to which is always tardily and very rarely given.

† The "enfant cheri" of Government is Trieste,

give, as soon as possible, the death-blow to a city inferior only in situation to the capital of Greece, and on every account one of the most extraordinary and interesting of Europe, those certainly are not people for the Greeks to ask countenance

expressly made so to complete the fall of Venice, and well calculated to injure the Italian provinces by the destruction of their natural and ancient point of commerce and communication, by diverting the course of trade into quite another channel. The quarantine, imposed upon individuals arriving from places subject to sanitary restrictions, is nominally of the same duration at Venice and at Trieste; but, in the latter, passengers are permitted to have pratique under similar circumstances considerably sooner; nor has the *sanita* department of Venice power to attend to the most trivial solicitation or request connected with its own proper occupations, except by reference to a superior office established purposely at Trieste, for the sake of wielding so powerful a commercial impediment, or engine, to the detriment of her rival. In consequence, what little trade may be remaining is forced of necessity that way; whilst Venice, the great original fount of riches, is seen all solitary, but yet beautiful, mourning with her decaying palaces over the recollections of the past.

or aid from: which, indeed, they would be less inclined to, having a settled antipathy to the Austrians, by whom their revolutionary efforts were hitherto regarded with a very unfavourable eye.* This feeling,

* The letter of Mavrocordato, dated on the 12th of June, at Napoli di Romania, as Secretary of State, and directed to the commander of the Austrian brig Orion, on the subject of some very violent proceeding that had recently occurred, whilst it is a most manly, dignified, and unassuming remonstrance, as to the conduct of the Imperial squadron at large, shows, in a very conspicuous point of view, how the efforts of the Greek people are considered by the authority which imparted orders of such a nature to its flag.

If the Secretary's representation was a modest and becoming one, the comportment of a Greek insular government, in circumstances pretty nearly similar, was equally spirited and bold: it arose from the following event.

In one of the Ægean Islands, an Ionian merchantman was detained, under pretext of acting in breach of the neutrality declared. On the circumstance being known, an English brig of war was despatched to require her restitution, she not being, from the method and report of her capture, by any means considered as legally a prize. The execution of this order

more particularly observable in the conduct of the Austrian marine, was contrasted with the true and unequivocal meaning of neutrality, as applied by the British commanders of every degree, and administered to all parties in the genuine spirit of humanity, for the purpose of alleviating the misery of war.

gave rise to written explanations and a good deal of correspondence, which was evidently, in the opinion of the British commander, evasive and unjust. He therefore wrote finally to say, that if his demand was not complied with within an hour, the consequences would rest with them, as he must, though unwillingly, use force, and at the expiration of the given period would unavoidably adopt the necessary means. The firmness and decision of the commander were rewarded; the vessel was immediately given up.

Soon after this, it is said, an Imperial captain having in like manner, and at the same place, to seek satisfaction for some alleged insult to, or detention of his flag, and hearing what had so recently happened to the Englishman, entered the harbour, and with very little preliminary intimated his intention, if reparation should not be given, as in the former case, within one hour, to open his fire on the town.

From what has been said upon the state of Greece,—of the feelings, the position, and character of all classes, there is every reason to suppose, and very little doubt, that she will finally succeed; but the war, if conducted on the principle we have hitherto seen it, will be inevitably a long one, and the country become a desert, exhausted, and depopulated,—an easy prey to the lurking ambition of its neighbours, who in silence and watchfulness observe the desolating progress of a contest

He received in answer, a detailed exposition of the circumstances, under which the vessel alluded to appeared to have outraged the laws and customs of neutrality; and the letter ended, in reference to his threat, by observing, that the English navy they both loved and feared; that, with respect to him and his, they harboured no sentiments of the kind; that he had, by his misconduct, insulted the ensign recognized by his superiors; and that, if within one half hour he was not under sail, they would consider and treat him as an enemy. The Austrian saw it was not for him to bully: he left the harbour, and the argument, without further delay or explanation.

which will, with so much facility, forward their ambitious projects.

If outward policy has been to allow the Revolution to proceed without immediate interference from any quarter, and leave the Greeks to fall, or recover their freedom, as they may, it is idle in reality to think, that Austria and Russia have entirely forgotten their designs upon a country which must render either of them (if not already) very dangerous to the general tranquillity and peace. With regard to the former and most formidable of the two, independently of the very extensive dominions more properly her own, almost every part of Italy, which is not at this moment directly obeying the Emperor's command, is indirectly governed by his influence and will, either through the medium of his numerous offspring, or by the lending of his arms: he is connect-

ed with all the petty princes who nominally govern the land. In the heart of Italy, where his brother the Viceroy, and the Ex-Empress, are governing in his stead, he is not more formidable than we find him along the extremities or flanks. The King of Sardinia is subservient to him, and is from recent circumstances entirely his own: in these sentiments the Prince Carignano, from inclination, from interest, and personal connexion, is acknowledged entirely to unite.

In the Neapolitan dominions, the southern capital of Palermo alone is now garrisoned by three thousand of the Emperor's picked troops; where they, no doubt, are determined to perpetuate their stay.

Amongst all the Continental Potentates, there is not one, who, in a given point of time, can concentrate on any part of his dominions so large and so efficient an

army as the Emperor; his peace establishment is little short of four hundred thousand men, soldier-like in their movements and appearance, well appointed in every respect.

Young Napoleon is now looked after with more than usual anxiety and care; his education has been managed with considerable address, and is calculated to keep the germs of such sentiments alive, as may lead him, when required, into the footsteps of his sire; without any public manifestation of a purpose which would naturally attract both suspicion and umbrage from abroad. He is at the disposal of the Emperor, a rod full of terror and menace against France; and those who are acquainted with the tone and the temper of the French people, can easily foretell what the consequence would be, were the Emperor to profit by the power in his hands, and which, if it is

not more openly displayed will, no doubt, in the event of any future rupture, be made use of to determine the Bourbons to his side.

That the cabinets of Petersburgh and Vienna are awaiting unconcerned the progress of a contest, which will establish, or close for ever, the destinies of a country that they have always considered a lawful object of speculation and intrigue, it is certainly difficult to believe: or that they are likely to hold themselves permanently bound by any private understanding which may actually exist between the Continental Powers about Greece. Can it ever be supposed that Austria will complacently look on, even should fortune prove favourable to the efforts of the Greeks, whilst a young nation of freemen is rising so contiguous to her provinces of Italy, to the rights and enjoyments of their fellow-men, more particularly, if (what we hope will not be the

case) a republican form of Government should be chosen for establishing their liberty and claims? Surely no! It is more conformable with reason to assume, that the seeming indifference wherewith the combatants are mutually suffered to cut each other's throats, is only a temporary calm, that may terminate unexpectedly, at a moment when it will be difficult to hinder the execution of their plans.

Greece already has paid dearly for disunion and misrule; but, if the Government will only profit by the error of the past, both opportunity and means are still amply in her reach. The nation wants one Chieftain only, in absolute command: he must be unembarrassed with jealousies or rivals, and he cannot be possibly a Greek: in adopting a measure so important to the interests of all, they should not lose one moment in unnecessary discussion or delay.

There is one man* who, from situation, appears in the opinion of many well-informed Greeks, well calculated for prosecuting their expectations and views: were it practicable to succeed in uniting this illustrious individual to the cause, it would enable Greece to demand alliance, as well as recognition from abroad; to baffle, by fair and open dealing, any insidious designs now hatching to produce her dismemberment and fall; and lend an occasion for connecting himself with the maritime power of Great Britain, which, from principle and interest, may be most especially expected to join in placing Greece upon a respectable footing, as a nation, amongst the sister kingdoms of the earth.

That it is our interest to unite in a proceeding, which has more than any other the semblance of being liberal and just,

* Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg is the Personage here alluded to.

or otherwise to prevent that country, or a part of it, from becoming a Russian province, or a second Lombardo-Veneto viceroyalty, is obviously so manifest and clear, that to enter upon any *exposé* of reasons in support of it, would be only superfluous and weak.

One point may be assumed, amongst others, as certain: that, in Greece, the Mahometan power is gone down; that the Greeks have means and spirit, if exercised under a favourable influence, for liberating themselves,—in a shorter time too, than is commonly imagined by many of her advocates and friends; and that England in adopting the precautionary measures, which are fitting to baffle the hidden schemes of others, and protecting, at the same time, her own interest and cause, will combine, in doing so, an act of justice and of mercy, which the world expects with anxiety from a people that by sen-

timent and conduct is pre-eminently distinguished, at a period which menaces so generally the liberties of man, and to which that nation of freemen only, proudly and fearlessly pursuing the ground work of its envied constitution and its laws, can be expected by its example to put a final and a salutary stop.

There are two countries in the universe, where the name of England is particularly respected and beloved: these places are Sicily and Greece. In either one or the other, should circumstances or politics admit, the people will turn to our purpose, from the peasant to the prince.

Let us hope that the most talented and popular minister who yet, in our Island, has directed the helm of affairs, may still steer a course in this interesting question, according with the wishes of the world: of all who nourish in their bosoms any sentiment that is worthy of a Christian or

a man! And, in the example of the Greek nation and their cause, let England ever proudly have the boast—that history is, by her means, erasing the melancholy maxim from its page, which denies to a great people, once fallen from the pinnacle of grandeur, the prospect of rising to it more.

THE END.

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